New Haven children.

Call to New Haven

Communist party May Day statement

— See page 12

UAW set to face GM?

PEOPLE'S WORLD

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Special to The People's World

ATLANTIC CITY — Leaders of the United Auto Workers are saying if they don't get better than eight per cent in this summer's negotiations there'll be a strike in the fall.

And General Motors may well be the prime target if that develops.

The 3,200 delegates, representing about 1,800,000 active and retired unionists, closed their convention last week having upped the ante considerably for the coming confrontation between themselves and the Big Three of the auto industry.

With only 25 delegates voting "no," the convention approved a collective bargaining program for the year that calls for a substantial wage increase. The program also involves elimination of the ceiling on cost of living increases.

Many of the contract demands approved by the convention represent the goals of various rank and file movements and disgruntled locals. A case in point is the movement for "30 and out."

When the convention opened April 20 close to 600 delegates staged a demonstration in front of the meeting hall demanding that union officials make a key bargaining point the demand for retirement after 30 years of service with a pension of $500. This program was approved by the convention along with a provision for a cost of living proposal for retired workers.

One of the sore points in the union in recent months has been the fact that with major layoffs in the industry, younger, low seniority workers have been unable to get Supplemental Unemployment Benefits (SUB). The convention voted to seek a change in this situation.

The 1970 bargaining program also approved the inverse seniority program through which older workers eligible for as [illegible] SUB would take layoffs allowing younger workers to continue on the job.

Longer vacations and more holidays were included in the demands. The delegates also voted to instruct negotiators to

(Continued on back page)

Cambodia 'invasion' myth exploded

By BOB KAUFMAN

SAN FRANCISCO — Supported only by some army officers, bureaucrats and the small business and professional class of Phnom Penh, the Lon Nol regime of Cambodia huddles in the capital waiting for rescue by the Nixon administration.

From the Laotian border on the north, to the South China Sea coast on the south, all of Eastern Cambodia is in the hands of the Cambodian National United Front.

The front grows daily, swelled by the mass of Cambodia's peasants. The peasants loyal to deposed Premier Prince Norodom Sihanouk, were angered by the brutal supressions carried out by the Lon Nol regime early in March, when troops fired on scores of pro-Sihanouk demonstrations, killing hundreds.

Now great numbers of Cambodia's 600,000 Vietnamese minority are fleeing to the liberated zones of Cambodia to escape the genocide unleashed by the Lon Nol regime, a wave of mass murders against Vietnamese living in Cambodia that has shocked the world.

BURCHETT VIEW

This is the picture of events in Cambodia drawn from the report of Wilfred Burchett, writing in the April 25 National Guardian, and supported by the leading Paris daily Le Monde. The report contradicts the April 24 White House declaration that the fighting in Cambodia is a "foreign invasion" and not a civil war.

The declaration was made to provide the political justification for direct, open U.S. intervention in Cambodia, an intervention bitterly opposed by many of the leaders of the U.S. Senate.

The Cambodian National United Front, set up by Sihanouk after the March coup by U.S.-backed politicians and army men, has been joined by the Cambodian Communist party,

(Continued on back page)

Come on

We don't like to boast but did anyone notice that reportage from the spot carried in the People's World predated the uprising that took place in Trinidad and was reported in the other newspapers only after it happened.

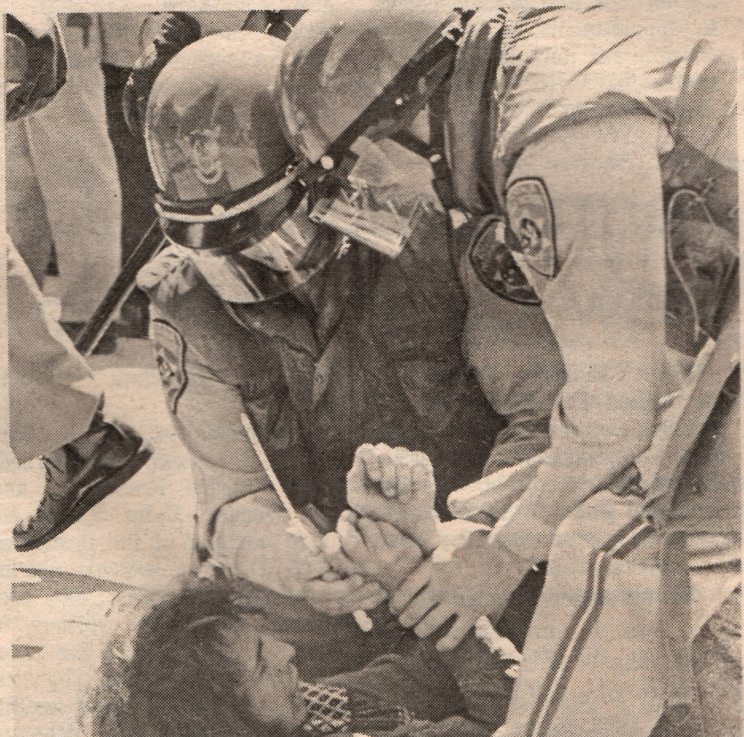
If that fact has already occurred to you and you want more, turn to page 73 in the latest edition of Scanlon's Monthly and you will find an item titled: "The NLF radio scooped the American press by a year and a half on Song My. That makes news." The article goes on to talk about other things the author learned from Liberation Front radio, including the drowning of residents of Ba Lang An. What the article fails to point out is the People's World carried that story on November 29.

Want more? Turn back to Scanlon's page 27 for the story about the misdeeds of the Los Angeles police. It's a much better and more complete story than the one we carried about the situation at the time. But on March 7, when we carried it, all the papers in L.A. and the wire services knew about it and wouldn't touch it.

At last there seems to be a realistic debate on the question raised by the ecology movement. We don't claim to have started the debate but it began long ago in our paper.

We don't claim to be number one or even number two but we're trying harder than all of them to serve the readers and supporters of this paper. So we pass the above facts to the paper's builders in hopes it will help in the drive now underway to increase circulation and raise revenues.

Some are responding tremendously. Los Angeles reached 46% this week; Santa Barbara, Northern California Miscellaneous counties and Butte county went well over the top. San Francisco and Alameda are lagging. Come on you guys.



HOG TIED. The white strip in the California Highway Patrolman's hand is a new style handcuff. The young man got in the way of a cop charge on the Berkeley campus of the University of California during anti-ROTC demonstrations Tuesday. Police used greater restraint than previously, allowing a small "Peace Brigade" of 100 students chanting "don't throw rocks" to put the blame for violence on the anti-ROTC movement, rather than on the administration, which retains the military training program.

Centennial journey

French union chief looks at U.S. labor, key role of blacks

By VIVIAN RANERI

Our roving correspondent, traveling with Virginia and Oleta Proctor, describes their meeting with a major world figure. The three were en route to Moscow for the Lenin Centennial Observance.

PARIS (Delayed) — The last time I saw Benoit Frachon, now president of the powerful CGT (French Confederation of Labor) was 25 years ago in the San Francisco Bay Area.

It was in 1945 when the United Nations was founded in San Francisco. Concurrently the World Federation of Trade Unions met in Oakland, where I was East Bay People's World reporter.

Another reporter and I were assigned this beat — and you must forgive me for a very personal note because I write this story partly in her memory. Jane Gilbert, a fine newspaperwoman and dear comrade until her death, was that other reporter.

Trade union leaders from many parts of the world were in Oakland for this first WFTU session since "victory over fascism" (what a hollow ring to that phrase for us in the U.S. now). I remember Lombardo Toledano from Mexico. And the British. And others.

But it was the French who mainly captured the hearts of Jane and me. And Benoit Frachon, CGT leader, Communist— and French underground fighter — became very special.

In Jane's old car, which didn't always work to well (better to park on a hill to get it started), we showed him the sights, took him to meet people, to appointments, to eat. When possible for him, he seemed to prefer this to the official pomp and ceremony.

Now, so many years later, Frachon is still the warm, cheerful man with sharp, penetrating mind and ability for objective analysis of events.

As one of the vice presidents of the WFTU, he told us now it was very necessary to keep up with the international trade union movement because the "problems are international."

He speaks with great knowledge of the U.S. labor movement and we couldn't help but wonder how many — indeed, if any — U.S. trade union leaders have a fraction of such awareness of French labor.

EYES BLACK MOVEMENT

He is very interested in the U.S. black liberation movement, the Black Panther party, black union caucuses. He agreed with these forms of struggle and says they were "important developments, opening prospects for alliances of black and white workers and improvement of the working class situation."

He also sees the Alliance for Labor Action as an important new organization in the U.S. "There is a special character to these happenings," he stressed. "They come at a time of increasing struggle against the monopolies."

For example, he said, the French strike of 1968 "was not just an ordinary strike. When you have 10 million workers on strike for several weeks, it is very important. We consider this the first big struggle — a clash against the monopolies in France."

He spoke of the two and a half million immigrant workers in France, from black Africa and elsewhere. "During the strike," he said, "there was a new brotherhood between workers. All strikers were on the same footing and all were brought closer together."

COMMUNIST BENOIT Frachon, president of powerful French labor union, CGT, flanked by Gen. Secretary Georges Seguy on left, and Secretary Henry Krasuski on right. The CGT, major union in France, is approaching a two-and-a-half million membership.

All this is of great importance, he said, but the "most interesting point internationally is the increasing frequency of wildcat strkes — the big strikes in West Germany six months ago, strikes in Belgium, Denmark, in Great Britain still going on, where hundreds of thousands of workers went over the heads of the trade union leaders and obtained satisfactory demands the leaders were not asking for."

WILDCAT STRIKES GROW

This is as true of the U.S. as of Europe, he said, with the strikes of postal workers, the recent San Francisco public workers strike, the air controllers action.

"The bourgeoisie say these are wildcat strikes," Frachon said, "but the truth is that workers themselves are organizing strikes over the heads of their leaders who would, if they could, settle things between themselves and the employers.

"These are not just haphazard events. We must consider them as new forms of struggle under new conditions. The working class is replying very firmly to reproachments against it."

Very important to this, he said, is the struggle of black workers in the U.S. and immigrant workers in France: "All this is unifying action, helping to unite black and white workers" and these developments like "wildcat strikes, are a new form of working class struggle, which reacts and corresponds to the buildup of the big monopolies."

BLACK-WHITE UNITY

"Wildcat strikes will not do away with the problems of racism in the U.S.," Frachon said, "but they will be of help and an important factor as all new movements and forms of struggle contribute to unifying black and white workers.

"It is in the fight against the capitalists," Frachon emphasized, "the common struggle against capitalism, that black and white workers will unite. That will not happen tomorrow, of course, and in the meantime the fight will go on."

And the current forms of struggle of militant black movements in the U.S. — the Black Panther party, the trade union caucuses — "are very important" to that fight, Frachon said, adding that he "quite ununderstands" their positions.

After this two-way interview, in which his questions were as sharp as any reporter's, we relaxed a few minutes before saying goodbye. This great war horse of a man remembered well his stay in the Bay Area, even asking about certain individuals he had met there.

And we told him in more detail of the Nixon Administration's drive to destroy the Black Panther party — the murders of 28 Panthers, the jailings, the harassment.

I told him of being emotionally moved when I came across plaques, on buildings in Paris, dedicated to members of the resistance shot at those spots by the fascists in 1944. I said that we too have our victims of police state terror, we too have our resistance fighters who have been murdered in the struggle — and that someday there will be plaques to honor our Fred Hamptons and Bobby Huttons.

And Frachon nodded. Yes, he "quite understands."

Farm workers make new gains at Gallo

LOS ANGELES — Officials of the United Farm Workers Organizing Committee recently reported the successful re-negotiation of their contract with Ernest and Julio Gallo Wineries, resulting in a new high for hourly wages.

The agreement, signed Saturday, April 18, provides a minimum wage of $2.20 per hour for field workers and a crew average of $3.75 (piece rates) per hour. In addition, the Gallo company agreed to contribute $20,000 per year for the economic development program of the farm workers.

The Gallo fields in Livingston produce wine grapes, substantially less in market value than table grapes grown in other areas. "This calls into question," said a farm worker spokesman, other growers' "complaints that union wages will ruin them."

Minimum union wages recently agreed upon involving some Coachella Valley growers are $1.75 per hour, plus fringe benefits and important pesticide clauses.

Agreements with K. K. Larson, C. C. Larson, David Freedman, Charles Freedman, and the Wonder Palm Ranch include banning of the pesticides DDT, Dieldrin, endrin, aldrin, parathion, and TEPP. New provisions also allow workers to walk off the fields in the presence of other poisons they consider dangerous to their health.

Another significant development in the pesticide issue was the restraining order, earlier this month by Coachella Judge John Locke, restricting the use of certain organic phosphate compounds. The order prohibits growers from sending workers into fields until 21 days after spraying with parathion and seven days after the application of another type of poison.

The injunction was the outcome of a suit against Elmco Vineyards brought by the farm workers union on behalf of Josephina Moreno, who sustained injuries from pesticides. It was the first court order of its type.

PW drive standings

Standings in the People's World 1970 Fund Drive as of April 28, 1970:

Area	Quota	Cash	Subs	Total	%
Los Angeles	$36,500	$16,490.67	$ 571.00	$17,061.67	46.7
San Francisco ..	8,500	2,361.31	90.00	2,451.31	28.7
Washington	8,000	1,686.43	201.00	1,887.43	23.6
Alameda	6,000	1,036.61	119.00	1,155.61	19.2
*Santa Barbara ..	150	180.00	4.00	184.00	122.6
*Misc. No. Co. ..	50	57.04	4.00	61.00	122
*Riverside	1,900	1,901.00	14.00	1,915.00	100.7
Contra Costa ...	550	342.52		342.52	62.6
Fresno	350	198.00		198.00	56.5
Tulare	100	50.00		50.00	50
Butte	150	55.00	12.00	67.00	44.6
San Bernardino .	500	195.00		195.00	39
Santa Clara	2,500	874.00	66.00	940.00	37.6
San Diego	700	198.00	7.00	205.00	29.2
Nevada State ...	100	25.00	4.00	29.00	29
San Mateo	150	36.00	7.00	43.00	28.6
Marin	1,000	222.00	18.00	240.00	24
Nevada Co.	100	20.00	4.00	24.00	24
Orange	275	50.00	7.00	57.00	20.7
Santa Cruz	100	15.00		15.00	15
Oregon	1,000	81.00	11.00	92.00	9.2
Sonoma	600	30.00	14.00	44.00	7.3
Stanislaus	100		7.00	7.00	7
Ventura	200	13.00		13.00	6.5
Idaho	200		7.00	7.00	3.5
Escondido	300	10.00		10.00	3.3
Arizona	300	5.00		5.00	1.6
Sacramento	100				
Miscellaneous ..		113.40	114.00	228.00	
Totals	$70,375	$26,145.98	$1,281.60	$27,527.58	39.1

*—Over the top.

11th hour push for abortions

SAN FRANCISCO — With an estimated 28 million women going off birth control pills because of recent disclosures of their dangerous side effects, the demand for repeal of all abortion laws has grown.

Hawaii and New York repealed their laws so women in those states can now get a safe, legal abortion by a licensed doctor with none of the harassment and danger they faced before.

(In Hawaii a woman must be a resident of 90 days before she can get the operation.)

The present California law allows abortion if the mother has been raped, in cases of incest, or if her life is in danger for either physical or psychological reasons.

For most women who seek a legal abortion, the only out is the psychological one.

For most poor, black, brown and Asian women, this means a legal abortion is impossible.

To combat this, the Abortion Initiative Project was formed. It's purpose is to put a measure on the November ballot. If passed, it would be law not subject to the governor's veto or legislative compromise.

Simply stated, it says, "The People of the State of California do enact as follows: . . . A holder of the physician's and surgeon's certificate . . . is authorized to perform an abortion or aid or assist or attempt an abortion."

The initiative needs 325,000 valid signatures of California voters to get on the ballot. The project was granted a 40 day extension to reach that goal and all signatures must be in by the first week of June.

The organizers say help in circulating the petition is desperately needed. There are volunteer offices in most areas of the state. For specific information, write the Abortion Initiative Project, Box 734, Sunnyvale, Ca. 94088.

In San Francisco, volunteers should contact Lois Smith, 4418-23rd st., 564-0181. Or go to the coffee room of Glide Memorial Church, Taylor and Eddy sts., on Sunday mornings between 10 and 1 p.m.

LOS JINETES DE
CHOLLIMA

BIENVENIDOS TO the Venceremos Brigade. The second contingent of the North American brigade, which just finished cutting sugar cane in Cuba as part of the effort to harvest 10 million tons by July 26, is back in the U.S. The 689 member group cut over three million arrobas of cane. They are shown here in a fraternal meeting with the Korean cane-cutting brigade. A welcome home party for the brigade which will also raise money for the PW is scheduled for Sunday, May 17, from 3 to 7 p.m., at the Winters', 1581 Masonic. Cost is adults $2.50, children get in for $1.50.

Whats on in May for peace people

SAN FRANCISCO — The New Mobilization Committee to End the War in Vietnam is alive and well despite recent announcements of the disbanding of its partner in many peace actions, the Natl. Vietnam Moratorium Committee.

After the April 15 street demonstration in San Francisco which the New Mobe helped organize, the peace group will now concentrate on supporting and helping other groups which have scheduled anti-Vietnam activities.

The New Mobe will have a national steering committee meeting May 9 in Chicago where they will discuss the future of their organization and its direction.

Coming up in May are three activities which the Mobe will work on in conjunction with the sponsoring organizations.

- May 15 — Downtown Peace Coalition is holding a street forum on the war all over the financial district. At 6 p.m. they are having open house at their new office: 86-3rd st., rm. 402. Phone is 989-7290.
- May 16 — the Movement for a Democratic Military is staging an action at Ft. Ord. It's Armed Forces Day and the MDM is asking for as many civilians as possible to come down and rap with GIs about the military and the war.

In the afternoon, there will be a rally at the University of Monterey. There will be a march from Fisherman's Wharf in Monterey to the campus for the rally.

For information: contact MDM, 2214 Grove st., Berkeley, 549-2172.

- May 30 — Chicano Moratorium demonstration at Dolores Park. Details are to be announced. For information, contact the Chicano Moratorium Committee, 992 Valencia st., 282-8169.

SAN FRANCISCO

LENIN
CENTENNIAL FESTIVAL
SUNDAY, MAY 3 — 12 TO 5 P.M.
Padre Area, Tilden Park
BETTINA APTHEKER will speak. Also **AGIT-PROP THEATER**. Sing-out with **JON FROMER**, guitar and bass with **RUDY MADRID**. Puppet Show, Barbacue dinner, Lenin posters for sale, books for sale.

Donation $2, children under 12, 75c

Directions: Take Spruce street to entrance to Tilden Park, take Wildcat Canyon road as it winds through park, past Laze Anza, past Brizilian room. At Botanical Gardens stay right on South Park drive until you come to Padre Area, marked with a sign.

Catolicos beat church rap

By JUDY BASTON

LOS ANGELES — Last Christmas Eve some 350 Chicano Catholics were attacked by police when they came to St. Basil's Catholic Church to present their grievances to James Francis Cardinal McIntyre.

Result of the attack on the newly organized Catolicos por la Raza was that 21 of them were arrested.

Trial of 11 of those 21 concluded recently in the Los Angeles Municipal courtroom of Judge Irwin Nebron, and a jury of four blacks, one Mexican American and seven Anglos found eight of the 11 defendants "not guilty."

There was one conviction and a hung jury in the case of two defendants. Convicted was Jose Razo, an editor of the newspaper "La Raza." He was sentenced to 90 days in jail, but is currently out on appeal.

The charge in the trial, which took about four weeks, was disrupting a religious assembly by "rude behavior."

The question of what constitutes rudeness was brought up often in the trial, said defense counsel Oscar Acosta, and every prosecution witness, aside from mentioning any noise made by the demonstration, constantly mentioned the defendant's hair and dress.

The trial, which the defense attorney says "was not a typical political trial, was the result of violation of the doctrine of separation of church and state."

Ten additional defendants — nine men and one woman — are currently on trial.

"The new trial," Acosta said, "is heavier." There are no nuns or priests, which despite the city attorney's attacks, gained sympathy from the jury.

There are more charges against the current defendants. In addition to "disrupting a religious assembly," some of them are charged with such offenses as assault and battery, inciting to riot and destruction of property.

The question of racism is also looming larger in the second trial. Unlike the first trial, during the choosing of the jury, city attorney Bill Reider repeatedly used pre-emptory challenges against black potential jurors, as well as the few Chicanos or longer haired young people on the jury panel.

When that happened, Acosta said, he and the defendants made a decision to change their strategy and emphasize general racism along with the issue of racism in the church.

What's happening

San Jose sets BPP, Los 7 benefit

SAN JOSE — The Santa Clara Coalition Against Repression is sponsoring a benefit Friday, May 8, at Roosevelt Jr. Hgh, 19th and Santa Clara sts., for the legal defense funds of Los Siete de la Raza and the Black Panther party.

Attorney Charles Garry will speak along with Rudy Madrid (who will sing also), chairman of the United People Arriba.

Elaine Brown, communications secretary of the BPP of Southern California, composer and singer will perform. She recently recorded an album of songs about the Panthers called "Seize the Time."

Co-sponsoring the benefit are the Community Alert Patrol, United People Arriba, the Black Student Unions of San Jose City and State Colleges, Women's Intl. League for Peace and Freedom and the Soledad Brothers Defense Committee.

Admission is $1. For information call 354-7040, 251-5045 or 295-9096.

Picnic and raps on Soledad case

OAKLAND — The Soledad Defense Committee is holding a picnic Sunday, May 3, from 1 to 5 p.m. in Bobby Hutton Memorial Park, 18th and Adeline sts.

Law students and lawyers will discuss the problems of prisoners and their families. Also one of the Soledad defense lawyers and an ex-inmate will take part in the discussions on the treatment of prisoners and families.

Refreshments are free.

Draft help seminar in SF

SAN FRANCISCO — A working seminar for all attorneys, medical doctors and draft counsellors will be held Saturday, May 2, at 1 p.m., third floor in room 30 at 170 Fell st.

Dr. Edward Dickstein, M.O., of Los Angeles and Allen D. Lenard, attorney, will talk on the medical aspects of Selective Service and military counselling.

For further information call: 986-2951, or 771-5098 or Draft Help, 863-0775.

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Labor solidarity to end 5 month strike

Marin work stoppage called

By SAM GOLD

SAN RAFAEL — Bay Area labor is calling for a general work stoppage in Marin county to defeat a union-busting threat spearheaded by the scab Marin Independent-Journal.

The 200 unionists at the public meeting in Carpenter's Hall, San Rafael, declared that the time had come to restore one of the major weapons of unions — solidarity.

Lou Goldblatt, International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union, set the pace when he declared that the purpose of "every piece of anti-labor legislation in the last 20 years was to make it difficult for one worker to help another."

The union-busting role of Wishard Brown, I-J publisher, was jelling a united labor demand to end restrictions on the secondary boycott.

It is "fundamental," one speaker said "that we must overcome the laws that prevent worker solidarity." There was unanimous consent by the unionists there to take any steps needed to restore this right despite punitive measures.

The decision came after Leon Olson, president of the striking International Typographical Union, Local 21, related the sham negotiations which took place earlier in the day.

The company had finally handed down its 60-page proposals for a settlement.

Three-fourths of the journeymen's pay average would be cut from $182 to $140 weekly. The seniority system would be virtually abolished and the apprentice system eliminated.

After nearly two years of trying to get the I-J to negotiate renewal of a standard contract; and the arbitrary firing of five printers, this was the result.

I-J UNFAIR
UNFAIR
I-J UNFAIR

AFTER THE I-J refused to negotiate and barricaded its plant so a scab edition could be printed, printers, with the support of the Bay Area labor movement threw up a mass picket line. It worked as George Duncan, ITU representative, announced "There will be no paper today." Now a work stoppage is being considered to bring the I-J to the bargaining table.

For months the ITU had explored avenues to effect negotiations. They expressed readiness to submit to settlement by an arbitrator. The I-J refused

They sought the participation of the Federal Mediation Service, the San Rafael City Council, the Marin Board of Supervisors.

They sought open debate in the county's public schools. The I-J would have none of it. For months the I-J had prepared to provoke the strike — now approaching its fifth month.

Scabs were trained to take over jobs, and armed thugs with police dogs were imported from adjacent counties.

Recently a clergy committee of 15 had urged the Marin supervisors to fact-find and provide proposals for settlement. The ITU welcomed it — the I-J refused to cooperate.

Of the 200-some I-J employees, 45 were union typographers. Olson told the audience, "We can put our people elsewhere . . . But what happens to us, and you, if we walk away from this situation?"

He was referring to the other scab newspaper, Contra Costa Times across the Bay, of the 2-year-old strike at the Los Angeles Herald-Examiner, of the union's loss of a strike in Portland.

And, said Charles Weers, Marin Labor Council leader, "We'd be left with a monopolist paper controlling the thinking of the people of Marin . . . This thing will spread like cancer."

Most of the Bay Area leaders were there to guarantee support, to insist on militant action. They came from the labor councils of Alameda, Contra Costa, Santa Clara, San Francisco, Sonoma and Marin.

It was Barney Apfel of the Teamsters Joint Council whose motion climaxed the unanimous decision for a general work stoppage.

Meanwhile, the ITU was relentlessly pressing its community campaign. The Emporium, one of the major advertisers in the I-J, was picketed again, this time in Stonestown, San Francisco, in the mounting boycott drive. Other advertisers were being reached to cancel ads. The campaign to cancel subs continues.

May 8th was to see another confrontation. A Marin Citizen's Coalition was sponsoring a public forum on the situation.

At the invitation of Rev. James Symons and Rev. John J. O'Connor the forum asked the participation of ITU's Leon Olson and the I-J's Wishard Brown.

Olson promptly responded — Brown is still to be heard from.

When Albania zigged instead of Zogged

By WILLIAM ALLAN

DETROIT — As if we didn't have enough unemployed here, 235,000, or 13.1 perecent of the workforce, but another one recently added — a unemployed king, Leka, 1, who has no country. He is the pretender to the throne of Albania, now a socialist country and came to Detroit last month to meet with his "subjects."

Leka told his story to Detroit newsmen from the Presidential suite in the Sheraton Cadillac hotel, which costs $100 a day. He was only two days old when his old man, King Zog I, ran off to London, in 1939, claiming the fascist armies of Benito Mussolini drove him out.

Leka teethed in Paris, learned to walk in London, and now he is sheltered in fascist Madrid. He states somberly that he has been a wanderer for three decades. He is 6 feet, 8 inches and a "pukka sahib" from British imperialism's special training spot for that breed, Sandhurst, their West Point.

Besides being trained as a soldier this king Leka is also a trained seal in dealing with newsmen. He talks of his late father that "he was a monarch with a soul." He said the Albanian people elected his father in 1925 for a seven year term, but after three years Zog liked the job so well that he had the system changed to a monarchy. Meaning that he abolished any form of democratic elections.

In 1935, his father, Zog, advertised he would marry any good American girl who could come up with a million dollars of a dowry. He got no takers, so he married Countess Apponyi of Hungary who at the time was in dire straits — the poor girl was selling picture postcards to tourists at the Hungarian Museum for a wage of only 220 pengos a month.

But things got better fast after the countess met King Zog. Her trousseau was sewn in Paris and Budapest and on her head at her wedding glittered a diadem from Vienna.

OYSTER BREAKFAST

In Albania at that time, there were no railroads but King Zog and his countess breakfasted the wedding morn on bistrina oysters. But the idyll lasted only a year when Mussolini came marching in. Thoughtfully Zog, carried away the crown jewels and a quantity of gold when he took off. He and his countess sweated out World War II in a 40 room mansion in London.

In 1946, two years after the people seized power in Albania and established a socialist government freeing the people from the fascist yoke, both of Mussolini, or the possible return of the "monarchy" of King Zog, the wandering king landed in Port Said, in Egypt. He had several chests of gold and settled down in a villa on the road from Cairo to the pyramids.

In 1951, Zog, bought a 60 room mansion on a 95 acre estate on Long Island, N.Y., reportedly paying for it with a bucketful of diamonds and rubies. But he never was able to move in, his liver gave out and he died in Paris in 1965.

His son, who now calls himself Leka I, says he is still a bachelor and has lived in Madrid since 1963. Asked if he had any problems, such as "unemployment" he said, "No."

"I've never been able," he said in a voice that has just the right pitch of poignancy without turning off the blasé reporters, "to find a home outside my country."

Then he gave the score, seven years in England, nine in Egypt, seven years in France, seven years in Spain. It sure is a tough life for a unemployed king, but he has more in his pockets than the 235,000 jobless workers in Detroit and Michigan.

His suit must have cost $500, his shoes not under a C-note, the shirts were pure silk as was the Dior tie. The luggage was all alligator stuff. His court attaches who stood around, were a secondary edition of him except many looked they had been working at the racket for some time. Only once during the dreary tale was the word "Communist" ever mentioned. Some erring reporter mentioned that the Communists were now leading the country of Albania. It was like a cold wind swept the Presidential suite. There was no comment from the unemployed king, Leka I.

PEOPLE'S WORLD

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On the LINE

THE LORD giveth and the Lord taketh away or a bird in the hand is worth two in the bush, or something like that. In any case, the individual actions of its component parts don't often stand up too well against the professed aims of the Alliance for Labor Action.

This is particularly true when it comes to the professed intention to join hands with the grass roots people in minority communities, at least not when it means helping such communities build their political muscle.

A case in point is the Seventh Congressional District on the east side of San Francisco Bay. Two successive elections there have demonstrated dramatically the dissatisfaction in the minority communities of Oakland and Berkeley with the incumbent congressman. The fact that both challenges garnered over one third of the vote and once came awfully close to winning demonstrates that the dissatisfaction extends beyond those communities.

This time around the separate elements of the district's diverse population — students, blacks, liberals, etc. — have for the most part agreed on one candidate, popular young black Berkeley city councilman Ron Dellums.

Well the United Auto Workers, who just set up a "community action program" office in the district went merrily on its way and endorsed the old line Democratic party encumbent.

Hence, beware of pharisees bearing gifts.

• • •

NORTHERN CALIFORNIA warehousemen are going for a three year contract with raises equalling 66 cents per hour each year.

That was the decision of the reconvened session of Local 6 (International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's Union) held last Saturday.

The convention also decided to demand a cost-of-iliving clause in the new contract.

The delegates voted to bargain for shift differentials of 10% swing and 15% graveyard and severance pay of one week for each year worked.

* * *

BETWEEN February 1969 and February 1970, the cost of a roast beef dinner in Los Angeles for a family of four, cooked at home, rose 8.7% or 50 cents.

* * *

THERE was a bland annuoncement by the Trucking Employers Inc., the management representative that bargains with the Teamsters union that if "a substantial segment" of Chicago truckers agree to a higher settlement for striking Teamsters there (the $1.65 an hour that wildcat strikers have been demanding), then national negotiations would reopen on that basis. It means that the month-old rank and file revolt against the $1.10 an hour increase (over three years) proposed by acting IBT president, Frank Fitzsimmons, may force the trucking bosses to grant the wage hikes to 435,000 drivers.

—COMRADE

Post Ho leadership sets course

'Revolution means creativity'

LE DUAN, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Workers' party speaking at the memorial to Ho Chi Minh.

By BOB KAUFMAN

(First of a series)

On the 40th anniversary of the founding of the Vietnamese Workers party, Le Duan, its first secretary, declared, "Reality shows that not only does the pushing forward of the revolution against imperialism not conflict with the interests of defending peace, but it is a very fundamental way of attacking imperialism to defend, in a realistic manner, common peace throughout the world."

"Conversely, to prevent world war and defend peace is also a very important way of attacking imperialism, creating more favorable and objective conditions for the development of revolutions in all countries."

The statement came as part of a major 50,000 word article published Feb. 14 in the organs of the Vietnam workers party. The article, entitled, "Under the glorious party banner, for independence, freedom and socialism, let us advance and achieve new victories," is the first major statement of policy and direction by the leadership of North Vietnam since the death of Ho Chi Minh.

In all the explanations given for the titanic achievements of the Vietnamese people in over 25 years of war, revolution and the building of socialism, commentators in the west, both admirers and opponents of the Vietnamese revolution, rarely mention Marxism-Leninism.

NEEDED THEORY

Yet this small agricultural people on the edge of Asia has given the world at least three Marxist thinkers of world historic stature. Ho Chi Minh, of course; Vo Nguyen Giap, the victor of Dien Bien Phu, whose writings on people's war are classics; and now Le Duan, who in this article shows himself to be a brilliant Marxist.

Le Duan quotes Ho on the needs of the Vietnamese national liberation movement at the time. "Marxism-Leninism came to the Vietnamese in the same way as water comes to a thirsty traveler or rice to a hungry one."

It enabled, he says, the broad national aspiration of the Vietnamese for liberation from the French to be harnessed to the tremendous potential energy of the peasantry to be free of the yoke of the landlords. "The contradictions between our people and the imperialist aggressors were closely associated with those between our people and the feudal system, which provided support for imperialism."

But the peasants could not lead the national liberation struggle, and had to unite with the working class, under its leadership.

"The peasants are a very revolutionary people, but they cannot assume the leadership of the revolution because the peasants do not represent a specific production formula, nor do they have an independent political position or an independent ideology."

NO SEPARATION

It was only the Vietnamese working class, which, although small, had strong ties to the peasantry, that could provide the kind of leadership a struggle as complicated as the liberation struggles of today require. But it could only do it Le Duan says, by constantly maintaining the alliance with the peasantry, and mobilizing the rest of the people to join in a struggle that was at once patriotic, anti-feudal, democratic and socialist.

For Le Duan, there is no separation between the struggles of the people of the third world, and the workers of the advanced capitalist countries. Quoting Lenin's "Let proletarians of all countries and oppressed peoples unite." He goes on to say:

"The strength of this strategic slogan shows that in the present era, the revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism and to lead mankind to socialism can be victorious only through a combination of the struggle of colonial peoples against imperialism.

"As capitalism enters increasingly into its extremely rotten stage, the problems of national independence and democracy are not only the problems of colonial and dependent peoples, but also the responsibility of communist and workers parties in developed capitalist countries."

Not only is there no separation between the workers of the advanced capitalist countries and the anti-imperialist struggle, Le Duan sees "an organic relationship" between the advance of revolution and the fight to prevent world war three.

Both "the possibility of breaking the weak links of the remaining chain of imperialism," and "the real possibility of preventing world war," flow from the fact, Le Duan says, that "the world socialist system — the forces struggling against imperialism to reform society according to socialism — is determining the main content, direction, and characteristics" of history today.

"The basic interests of the proletariat, the people, and the different nations throughout the world are that they can both defend world peace and push powerfully forward the revolutions of all countries. These two objectives have organic relationships with each other, each acting as the other's premise, and can be fully achieved once the communists firmly grasp the offensive tactics of world revolution and succeed in bringing about a united front . . . of all the forces struggling for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism."

And, Le Duan emphasizes, "The South Vietnamese revolution proves that lacking a world war, moreover under the necessity of defending world peace, revolution can still break out and succeed."

"Revolution means creativity," Le Duan says. "There has never been nor will there ever be a single formula for carrying out revolution that is appropriate to all circumstances and at all times. Lenin taught that Marxism absolutely demands that one must have an historical viewpoint in considering the question of forms of struggle. To pose this question without considering the concrete historical circumstances means not understanding the elementary facts of dialectical materialism."

He relates how the party, viewing revolution as a long process of development, changed its tactics, slogans and allies to fit each of the changing circumstances in the years between 1930 and today. Each issue that emerged was used to strengthen the people, and weaken the enemy.

"A political party that is really revolutionary and always faithful to the final objective of the revolution is capable, in one way or another, of putting the seal of revolution on all slogans as well as on all forms of organization and struggle, including those slogans and forms that bear the least political color and which are considered necessary to rally the masses when the situation does not yet allow the change to resolute revolutionary action."

When the professorial helpmates of the U.S. military in Vietnam still talked as if the U.S. might defeat the Vietnamese revolution, they used the phrase, "Viet Cong infrastructure." This mysterious something had to be "rooted out" they said. It was the key to "Viet Cong" strength.

'ORGANIZATION'

That "infrastructure," the organization of the masses in struggle, is, says Le Duan, "the sole weapon of the revolution."

"All activities aimed at leading the masses to advance step-by-step toward the uprising and overthrow of the ruling clique can be summed up in organization — organization and organization."

But revolutions do not follow a script, written and directed by some central committee or single leader.

"History in general," says Le Duan, "and the history of the revolution in particular, always takes place in a manner that is richer and more varied, comprehensive, lively, and marvelous than the imagination of the best political parties, the most politically conscious vanguard groups, and of the most advanced classes.

"That is why, in revolution, sometimes what is needed is only for the leader to grasp in advance the fundamental direction of developments, a number of basic elements, and to dare to act boldly."

Does political power come from the barrel of a gun? Even in the conditions of Vietnam Le Duan sees the question differently. To be sure, revolution "is always achieved by violence carried out by the ruled classes against the ruling class to settle the question of administrative power."

But, "revolutionary violence must be based on two kinds of forces — armed force and political force — and comprises two forms of struggle — armed struggle and political struggle — and the coordination between these two forms."

"If one does not ready his forces, including armed forces, he cannot counter the enemy's fierce attack.

"However, violence does not base itself solely on armed force and does not consist only of a single form, namely armed struggle. Without political force and political struggle of the masses, armed struggle and armed force cannot achieve victory.

"Naturally, not every form of political struggle is violent. Only the revolutionary activities of the masses in contravention of the state laws of the ruling class to directly overthrow the ruler's administrative power and return it to the people when the question of administrative power has been raised, can be considered to be violent.

Revolutionary violence to topple the ruling class must necessarily be the violence of the masses, of the majority of the oppressed and exploited people."

Next week, the war in the south, and building socialism in the north.

PRINCE SOUPHANOUVONG, leader of the Pathet Lao, shown above, met last Friday and Saturday "at the Vietnamese-Laotian-Chinese border" with the other three leaders of the struggle against the U.S. in Indochina. Attending were Prince Norodom Sihanouk of Cambodia, Nguyen Huu Tho of the Provisional Revolutionary Government of South Vietnam, and North Vietnamese Premier Phan Van Dong. Associated Press credited "Viet Cong" radio for the report.

Good & welfare

Morality play or cannibalism

ONE THING you can say for the editors of the Guardian — they got spunk. This week, with their office closed by the building owner and the paper being published at secret locations in order to avoid disruption by the people who took over their office and started their troubles, they lashed out. They attacked not only those who had caused the trouble but nearly every other group on the left. Their attack, while not involving a physical confrontation, was carried out in the same spirit their office was beseiged. But I guess they can't see it.

We've got a real problem on our hands — cannibalism on the Left. It's been going on some time but it seems to have reached a high point in recent months. If everybody remains silent about it, or even worse, joins in the biting, it will, no doubt set the movement back in this country, a day, a week, a year.

Bobby Seale is on trial for his life, the Black Panther party is struggling for its life, Reies Tijerina is in jail, Los Siete de la Raza are going to trial for their lives, the war in Southeast Asia was widened and the peace movment is looking a little sick and what do we have?—cannibalism. People who have little to show in terms of either effectiveness historically or influence among the populace are turning on one another. They are like troops headed for a beach landing on enemy shores who get into a riot on the ship.

What's so ironic about all this is that much of the meeting disruption, collection demanding, table turning and office seizing is being done by people who say they want to be left alone to do their own thing and used to say they wanted to leave others alone to do theirs. If their own things were operating at the peak of proficiency there might seem some justification for their wanting to handle everybody else's things.

BUT SUCH is not the case. We all publish pretty small newspapers and whereas our number was growing a couple of years ago, today the number of underground and left newspapers seems to be shrinking. But it's still fairly easy to set up a new one. The people disgruntled could have simply gone over to another address, set up shop, started publishing "The New Guardian" and the readers could have decided which one they wanted to read. Or, as one person put it: "Why didn't they take over the Daily News?"

Another amazing aspect of the Guardian's troubles is the numbers and types of people who have decided the attempted takeover of the paper was a "strike" and decided to honor the non-existent picket lines. Then there are other media operations like Pacifica station WBAI and Liberation News Service who saw the whole affair as a modern day morality drama on par with David and Goliath. There are some who loudly and self-righteously support the Guardian rebels who by their past performance would have called the police if anyone tried to take over anything they were running. Some even screened people before allowing them in. Hypocrites all.

THE GUARDIAN editors seemed to be particularly upset because someone described the hassle at their office as a "hassle." They called it an insult. Well, the history of the Guardian under its "present management" has not shown itself above insulting others on the left (I'm not referring to ideological debates). Writers who once described others as irrelevant and ineffectual are now secretly publishing their paper.

We would all be better off concentrating on how we are going to reach the millions of people in this country who need to hear from us, rather than running around salivating in the presence of another's subscription list of a few thousand names and budgets of even fewer dollars. —CARL BLOICE

A May Day memory: encountering Lenin

By ALBERT J. LIMA

Lenin kicked out the bosses and turned over all industry to the workers. He took the land away from the feudal barons and the church and turned it over to the peasants and agricultural workers.

He made it possible for the people to produce for use for themselves — no more profit for the boss, no more exploitation of the workers by a handful of bosses.

He brought an end to the war which was ruining old Russia and causing wholesale slaughter of the workers and peasants by the capitalists.

He set up the first workers state — where the workers own and run their own country.

He gave leadership to a great revolution which overthrew a system so cruel that it demanded to be destroyed. He made it possible to overcome superstition and oppression, and for the masses of poor people to rise in dignity and establish the first workers' state.

The capitalists of the entire world ganged up on this workers' state and tried to destroy it, but the Red Army and the workers of the world prevented this, and the workers' state still survives.

The year was 1921. The scene was a four man bunk-house in a lumber company town of Northern California. The two speakers were IWW members. The listener was myself on my first full time job. The words fell on ears which had been pried open by some brutal experiences all of which had occurred in a few short weeks.

The town was built on a hill side with a road cutting across the middle. The company store was on one end of the road and the cookhouse on the other. The houses were bare of paint and weatherbeaten, and the hill was virtually barren of any vegetation. The married families lived in the houses above the road, and the single men in the cabins below.

Down on the flat, on the banks of the river was the mill, with the log pond behind the mill and the slag burning across the river.

My job was heavy and grinding for 60 hours a week, with an additional hour thrown in free because the boss wanted us to be working full speed when the whistle blew for starting time.

I complained about the difficulty of my job and the men in the bunkhouse explained that was why the job had been open. I complained about the extra unpaid hour, and they explained that the boss took much more than that from my work. The married families above the road "owed their souls to the company store."

They described the company as "a high-ball outfit with hay wire rigging"—full speed ahead and never work in the bight of the line. Just before I went to work the body of a logger was brought down to the mill from the woods. He was wrapped in a piece of canvas, too badly mangled to hold together. He was working in the bight of the line when the haywire rigging gave way.

A few weeks later heavy rains caused the river to pour over the dam, and when a log raft broke loose, logs three and four feet in diameter began to go over the dam.

The bosses got panicky, and a pondsman had an accident and went under the logs. We rushed from the mill to the pond when the accident whistle blew. It was impossible to do anything and that was very difficult.

Then an accident occurred where the big rigs cut the slabs from the logs and a mill worker was crushed to death. The workers were very saddened by all of this, and when the family of the dead mill worker was asked to vacate the company house the men became very angry.

Discussions were held and it was decided to send a delegation to speak to the company. A worker of Greek extraction was selected as the spokesman. He had gotten me the job in the mill. He asked for me to go along as I was "educated" (I had been to high school) and his speech was very broken.

The men crowded into the office end of the store and spoke to the office manager over a counter. The Greek worker was very polite, took off his cap and in halting and broken English said that the family had not received any "compensation" for the death of the mill worker.

The office manager took advantage of the heavy accent of the worker, and tried to make a joke of the whole thing by saying: "Are you trying to get the "combination" of the company safe so that you can get some of our money?"

There was an angry outburst from the men behind, and a brief physical encounter with the office manager. A door in the rear of the office opened and the well dressed superintendent stepped up to the counter. When he was told compensation had not been paid to the family he put on a show of being outraged and ordered the office manager to see that it was paid immediately.

It was in the midst of these experiences that I first heard about Lenin, and his plans for the people and how to handle the problems created by a "boss" social system. To me Lenin became a symbol, my ideas of him were emotion and confused, but they we deep and they became perma ent.

Since then I have learn much more about Lenin, and remains a constant source knowledge, and he provid rich examples of how to stud analyze, and draw conclusio from an examination of capit ist and socialist developmen He provides guidelines that a never ending sources of help the complications confronti the revolutionary movement today.

In 1931 I joined the Comm nist Party, and became acti in trying to build the Nation Lumber Workers Industrial U ion, affiliated to the Trade U ion Unity League.

The policy of the TUUL w to build independent unio where no unions existed, but also had a policy of worki in the existing union bodies a of organizing the unemploy and to unite them politically a organizationally with the e ployed and organized worke in the country.

This policy marked a sha break with the previous l sectarian policy, which had a ways plagued the Left, of tr ing to build new and pure tra unions.

This policy of working in t reformist unions and trying transform them into effecti class bodies was the applicati of Lenin's concepts indicated "Left-Wing Communism — A Infantile Disorder." Lenin dea very sharply with those revol tionists who wanted to bui

The making of

By MANI SINGH

Mani Singh is a prominent public leader, a veteran of the liberation struggles in both India and Pakistan. He was one of the founders of the revolutionary trade union mobement in Calrutta and a leader of peasant struggles in Bengal in the thirties. Because of his political activities he was arrested again in August, 1969, and is today detained in prison without trial.

The first time I heard the immortal name of Lenin was in 1925.

I was still a boy and a member of an anti-British terrorist organization in Bengal. my views were vague and I had no political education. One of the members of our organization, who wanted to learn more about the tactics of terrorism, set out illegally for Moscow.

He returned not a terrorist, but a Marxist-Leninist. He was the first to acquaint me with the teachings of the great revolutionary, the outstanding Marxist theoretician, the leader and organizer of the Great October Socialist Revolution.

Lenin's ideas made a deep impression on me.

Since then, Lenin's teaching has been for me a source of inspiration, giving me guidance in the most difficult hours of my life.

I was eager to read Lenin's works, but in those days Marxist literature was at a premiu in our country. If anyone wa lucky enough to come into po session of a book by Marx (Lenin he would be reluctant part with it; those books wer cherished like treasure.

One day in 1926 I had the lu to lay my hands on Lenin's "In perialism, the Highest Stage Capitalism " Its owner let m have it for a few days, and I d cided to copy it by hand.

So much has changed sin then. Now, I am virtually su rounded by volumes of Leni The moment a question aris in my mind, I refer to Lenin.

"Our theory is not a dogm but a guide to action" — th has become my motto. In 19 I began taking part in trade u ion work in a workers' subu of Calcutta.

The workers' strikes and th knowledge I gained from rea ing Marxist-Leninist literatu helped me learn the laws the class struggle, the motiv force of history.

My trade union experienc provided ample evidence th the teaching of Marx and Leni was the only reliable guide determining the objective an subjective conditions in th country and rallying the rev lutionary forces against th home and foreign capitalists.

In 1930 we raided a govern ment arsenal in Chittagong.

WORLD MAGAZINE

MAY 2, 1970

MAY
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,000 PER YEAR

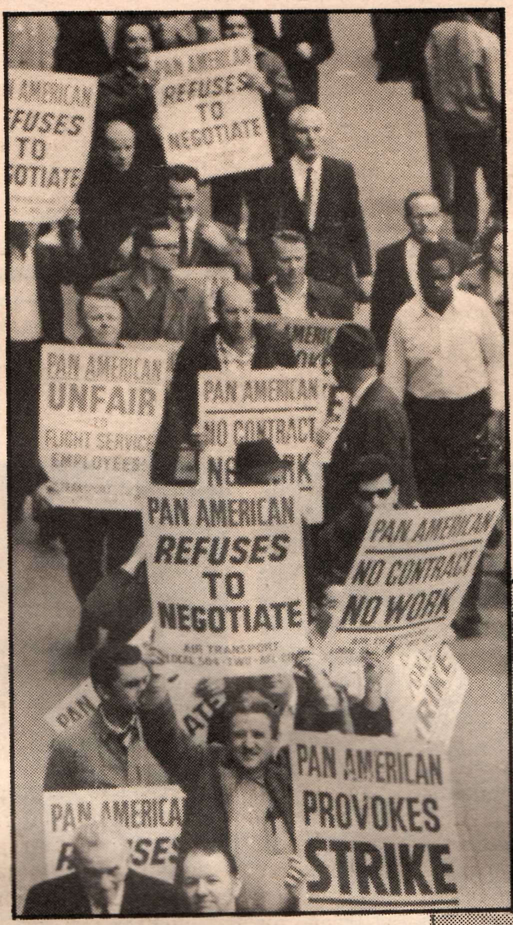
UPSURGE 1970

May Day 1970 finds United States labor involved in militant struggles to preserve their rights and standard of living. Organization of the millions of unorganized workers with substandard wages is gaining momentum. The outlook for the coming years is an upsurge in trade union struggles equal to the drive in the 1880s when May Day had its beginnings. See stories pages 2, 3,4, 5.

The tide is rising in Labor

By GEORGE MEYERS

National Labor Secretary of the Communist Party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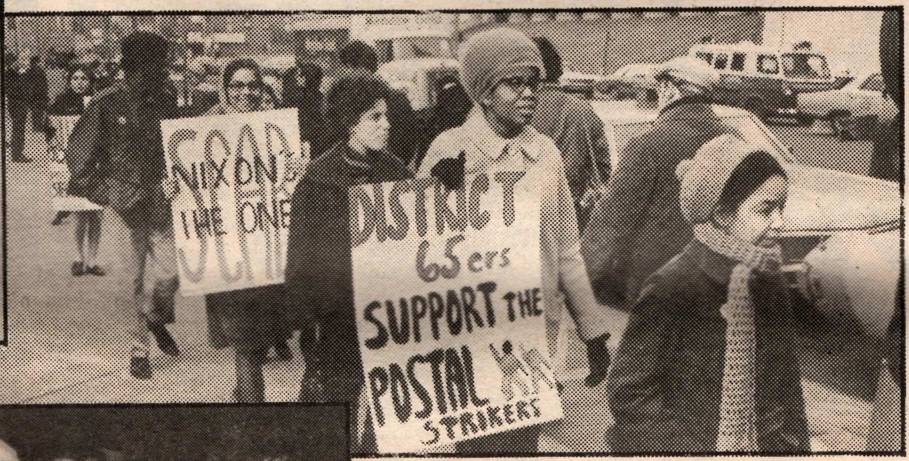
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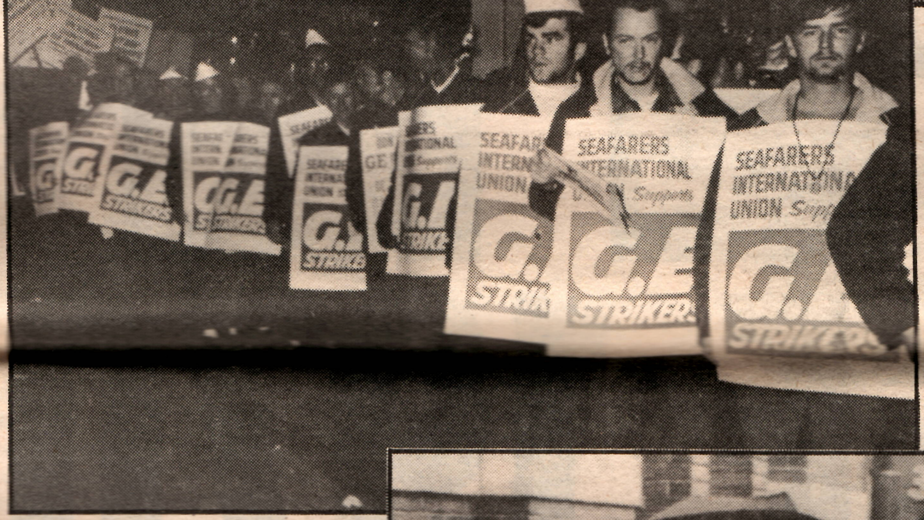
SEAFARERS INTERNATIONAL UNION Supports G.E. STRIKERS

ON STRIKE TO SAVE OUR SCHOOLS

Transport Workers Union members picket Pan American World Airways; District 65'ers march in support of striking post office employes; General Electric workers are supported by a picketline of Seafarers Inpicketline of Seafarers International Union members; and Chicago teachers picket a school in one of the early teachers' strikes in 1959.

May Day 1970 celebrates an upsurge in the heroic struggles of the American working class, black and white, men and women, against the ruthless exploitation of the giant monopolies.

Unity of black and white in common struggle is increasing as more and more white workers learn they cannot win the fight against high prices and taxes, killing speed-up and dangerous working conditions without marching hand in hand with their black brothers and sisters.

The historic 100-day strike against General Electric, for example, saw 150,000 workers, nearly half of them women, staunchly united for the first time in twenty years against one of the charter members of the military-industrial complex. The vicious strike-breaking schemes launched by GE with the help of the Nixon Administration broke apart when they crashed into the wall of labor unity set up by every section of organized labor.

Rank and file teamsters rejected out of hand a totally inadequate contract, a contract negotiated under pressure, with the President of the United States himself looking over the shoulders of the union negotiators, waving the threatening club of compulsory arbitration over their heads.

Postal workers on strike for the first time in 195 years! These shamefully exploited workers, 30% of whom are forced to work two jobs, were goaded to strike in the face of illegal Federal laws that would deny them the right to withhold their labor. These workers struck for a living wage even though they were under the threat of $1,000 fine and a year in jail. The massive power they showed was a lesson to business and government alike. Their action, in defiance even of their top union leadership, keynoted the sentiments of millions of other workers — government and civilian — whose worsening living conditions are laying the foundation for an explosive upsurge.

Teachers from Newark to Los Angeles, from New Orleans to Minneapolis, strike and struggle in the face of injunctions, fines and jail in their fight to protect their own living standards and the public school system as well. American Federation of Teachers President Dave Selden is serving a 60-day sentence for the "crime" of walking the picket line in support of striking Newark teachers. He is one of hundreds of school teachers who have been jailed solely by a judge signing an injunction.

These struggling teachers are class brothers and sisters with the 1,600 Atlanta garbage collectors who are standing fast in their fight for a living wage although fired from their jobs by a mayor they helped put into office and who is trying to break their ranks with the use of scab prison labor.

The coal miners of Appalachia are regaining the initiative in their fight against the deadly "Black Lung" disease and other mine hazards, following the cruel assassination of "Jock" Yablonsky and his wife and daughter. Yablonsky was the only mine union leader of any stature who had the decency and courage to give voice to the struggle of the rank and file miners against the coal operators and a do-nothing union leadership.

(It's quite a sight these days to see John D. (Jay) Rockefeller IV travelling the mountains of West Virginia with his eye on the Governorship, blaming the United Mine Workers leadership for the terrible conditions in the coal pits, with his family owning the major mines and much of the coal that contributes to their vast wealth.)

●

Thousands of rank-and-file strikes are being called by workers pushed beyond the threshhold of endurance by the killing speed-up and working conditions that drain every ounce of their energy. Anti-strike laws and "no-strike" clauses in union contracts have sapped the effectiveness of many shop steward systems, forcing the rank and file to "wildcat" actions outside established grievance procedures in order to solve a mountain of grievances, many of which have been festering for years.

Rank-and-file black workers are smashing at the very sources of racism with their militant struggles against the rank discrimination practiced against them by the big corporations at the point of production. The Black Caucuses are an important factor in the vitalization process now taking place in the trade unions, as they challenge the racist union practices and racist union leaders that hamper the vital growth of black and white trade union unity.

Organized labor joined with the Freedom Movement to deliver an historic defeat to the anti-Labor and racist Nixon Administration in its ruthless efforts to put the reactionary judges Haynsworth and Carswell on the Supreme Court. Labor in the South stood solidly with Labor in the North and West in this struggle, helping to give the lie to Nixon's false charge of "a plot against the South."

What does all this add up to? Workers in the United States — of both sexes and all colors — have had it! They are sick of being robbed of hard-won wages by constantly rising prices and an unjust tax system. They are fed up with working conditions that take 10 to 20 years off their lives — and with obsolete and cumbersome procedures that make it almost impossible to have grievances settled. Black and other minority workers have had it with racist hiring and promotion practices that put them on the lowest paid, dirtiest jobs — or no jobs at all! And with union officials that fail to respond to their demands!

There is growing anger against the

"Thousands of rank-and-file strikes are being called by the workers."

Nixon Administration, which cuts jobs and buying power while raising profits — in the name of fighting inflation. It is admitted that unemployment is now over 4 million, with the highest percentage among factory workers. The cost of living has gone up over 15% in the last three years. (Consumer prices have gone up at the yearly rate of 7.2% since Jan. 1.) Spendable take-home pay has gone down 2½% in the last year-and-a-half. **BUT,** profits have gone up **95%** since 1960 and the pay of Big Business executives has gone up 20% since 1967!

●

Workers are valiantly struggling against the effects of the war policies of the Government, and, more and more, against the war itself.

But the struggle in this country is a two-way street. Big Business, eagerly aided and abetted by the Nixon Administration, is fighting with might and main to frustrate the mass struggles of the workers along with their drive against the Peace Movement, the Black Liberation Movement, and every other democratic expression. In the last few months the President, the vice-President, nearly every member of the Nixon cabinet, and the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court, Warren Burger, have joined in projecting new anti-labor measures in one form or another.

On the same day that Nixon suffered his loss on Judge Carswell, he won a victory that has very serious implications for Labor. Congress passed into law his proposal that broke the struggle of the Sheet Metal Workers to protect their jobs on the railroads. This law **imposes** a settlement on these workers. Now Nixon proposes that a national commission be set up to work out such a procedure for all industry. This even goes beyond compulsory arbitration, which Nixon proposes for the transportation industry. The heart of the matter is the effort by Big Business to destroy the most fundamental right of the workers — the right to strike! Justice Burger, for example, wants to give to the states the power to regulate such things as picketing. His proposal dovetails with the resurgence of "right-to-work" committees around the country.

Organized labor has already called for the resignation of Secretary of Labor George P. Schultz for his pro-company bias. Attorney-General John Mitchell is calling for extension of the Landrum-Griffin Law. Postmaster General Winton Blount — that anti-labor contractor from the South—was a willing partner with Nixon in breaking the postal strike. (At this writing strike sentiments were again building.)

Nixon's so-called "southern strategy" of taking over the reactionary program of George Wallace exposes the racist, anti-labor nature of his Administration. It means that the President of the United States is committed to a two-fold racist policy of attempting to turn back the long and militant struggle of black citizens for full equality, and to foster the spread of racism among white workers for the purpose of splitting the working class and destroying the trade union movement.

A big gun in the drive against the trade unions is a new attack on the rights of rank-and-file members. Nixon is now proposing that union members be denied the right to vote on final contract settlements. This means that a top union negotiating committee (possibly headed by corrupt union officials) could be pressured into signing an agreement totally unsatisfactory to the membership, and, supposedly, that would be the end of it. Not likely!

Incredible as it may sound, AFL-CIO head George Meany and other craft union leaders have already agreed to this proposal, which would take the guts out of the trade union movement. Some union officials live in deadly fear of their own membership.

But the mood of the workers in this country is not one of resignation and retreat. The struggles of black and white for decent wages, living conditions, work standards, jobs and an end to discrimination continues to surge forward. The prospect is for more struggles, not less, as the problems of the workers multiply.

The giant multi-national monopolies with plants and installations in all parts of the capitalist world have brought new and even more difficult problems to American workers and their unions. They are seeking ways to work with the trade unions in other countries, to prevent corporations from playing off their workers in one part of the world against those in another part.

While May Day is yet to be properly celebrated in our country, its true meaning finds expression in the vast struggles of the workers, the struggles for peace and against racism, and the beginnings of a trend toward healthy international trade union unity.

The bumpy road of a postal worker

Since the postal strike in March, postal wages—along with those of all federal employes — were raised 6%. This brings the annual starting wage of a letter carrier to $6,546 ($1,793 below the starting wage of a New York sanitation worker).

When the workers threatened to strike again on April 30, President Nixon, on April 16, put forth a new postal reform proposal which the New York Times described as a "slight variation from Mr. Nixon's proposal on May 27, 1969, to convert the Post Office into a public corporation."

This proposal would give postal workers an additional 8% wage increase (still leaving letter carriers' wages more than $1,300 behind sanitationmen) and the right to bargain collectively subject to binding arbitration. The proposal also incorporates a rate hike of two cents for first class mail, and proposes to increase other postal rates as well.

Nixon's proposal has been hailed by AFL-CIO President George Meany and greeted with silence by the postal union chiefs. The postal workers, however, have expressed bitterness at what they consider a sell-out by the President.

This interview indicates the plight of the postal workers and their intention to change the situation.

United Press International

Henry Zych, president of Chicago's Branch 11, addresses postal workers.

By TED PEARSON

CHICAGO

When Al Augustine went to work for the United States Post Office 12 years ago, he was but one of thousands who saw in that growing institution a way to carve out a piece of security and a decent living for himself and his family.

Augustine had worked for years in the railroad yards south of the Dearborn Street Station in Chicago, and as more and more trains were discontinued, his long seniority was not enough to keep his job. In 1958, he went to work for the Post Office. He already had four children; today he has seven. Soon after he began working for the Post Office he was forced to take a second job to support his family. He has had a series of "second" jobs since.

In 1963 he bought a small house on the Near North Side. "It was a crime the way we had to live," Augustine said. "We had to make a home out of this place, and it was nothing but a shell when we bought it. We couldn't go anywhere, we couldn't even have friends over, money was so scarce."

His wife, Shirley, occasionally worked part time. Al Jr., Augustine's oldest son, also began to work for the Post Office and he was able to pay for his own room and board in the house, further easing some of the family's difficulty.

But then things took a bad turn. After working for less than a year, Al Jr. was drafted and sent to Vietnam. This lopped off a sizeable chunk of the family income.

Congress passed the Vietnam surtax, and raised the regular tax rate, taking even a bigger bite out of Augustine's paycheck.

A year later, the State of Illinois decided to charge him a couple of dollars a week for the privilege of working, in the form of a state income tax, and the taxes on his small home also went up.

But the hardest thing to bear was the increased cost of providing a meager but healthful diet for his family. As Augustine told this reporter, "None of my kids starve — If I have to go out with a gun, none of my kids will ever starve. But they get bigger and they have to eat more, and the price of food goes higher and higher."

His food budget skyrocketed. It is now around $80 a week!

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The return of Al Jr. from the war, fortunately unharmed, and his return to work at the Post Office helped, but prices and taxes continued to rise without relief. Mrs. Augustine again went back to work part time, bringing in $30 to $40 a week.

"I don't know why the hell I stay at the Post Office," Augustine said. "Its just that I've been there so long, and, well, I'm 45 years old and you don't go out and get a better job just like that."

Besides, the union to which he belongs, the National Association of Letter Carriers, had said that soon the postal workers would be getting a raise.

But Augustine's raise got tied up in Congress, batted from one house to the other for 19 months, while prices and taxes continued to soar, and while the President and Congress voted themselves 100 and 41 percent pay raises in less than 6 hours.

The leadership of the NALC took the position of a sapling in a strong wind: the direction in which it bent depended on who blew the hardest, the government or the workers.

Faced with a rank and file revolt among people like the Augustines on the one side, and by the Nixon anti-labor policy and a law banning strikes on the other, the union leadership wavered. Henry Zych, a former mailman who used to work out of the Lincoln Park Station with Augustine, and who is now the president of Chicago Branch 11 of the NALC, was no exception.

"Zych jumped from one side of the fence to the other no less than five times in four days," Augustine exclaimed, a note of disgust in his voice.

There is little question in the mind of Augustine that the days of Zych, NALC National President James Rademacher, and other such misleaders are numbered. The only thing that might save them is a sizeable increase in wages.

Workers at the stations in Chicago voted against the proposed 12% increase the NALC was bargaining for in March. They are ready to strike again if need be for a substantial increase.

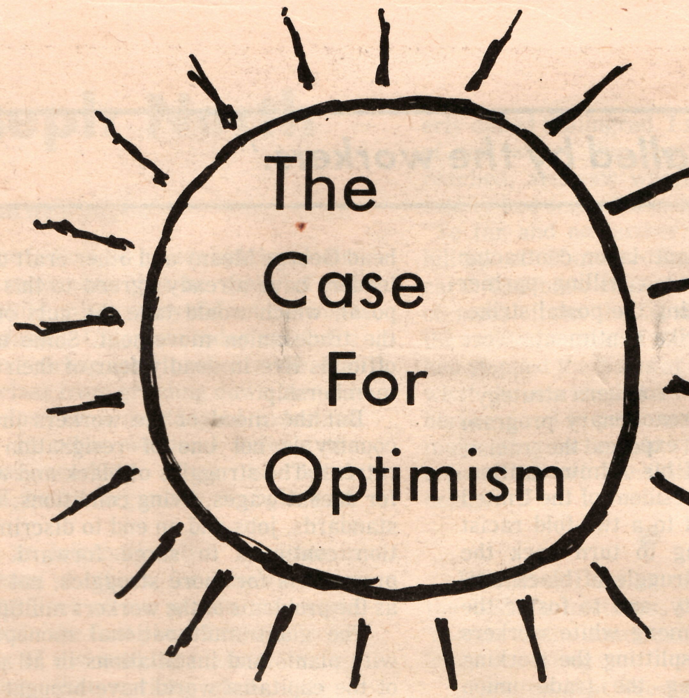
I asked about the possibility that his union's leaders might be jailed.

"I think if a man is true to his convictions and has the other men behind him, he should go to jail for his men," said Augustine. "Not only that, but the fact is that if he had the courage to risk it, you know damn well his men would have him out of jail before it was over, too. You can believe me, we're having elections next year, and all these guys are out.

"When we had the last elections, nobody wanted to be a delegate. Now they understand why it's important to be a delegate, and the three guys who are delegates at our station will never be delegates again."

Augustine spoke with pride of the militant younger black and white workers who are coming forward to take the reigns of leadership in the union. "No matter what some white people say about colored people, there's a colored guy in my station that all the guys would rather see president of the union any day than Zych.

"We know now that we are going to have to make our own rights, including the right to strike that other workers have. And we know that we're going to have to make our own leaders in getting our rights."



The Case For Optimism

By JOSEPH NORTH

The Professor was good natured about it. We had just finished addressing the recent conference at the University of Maryland, a gathering of writers called together to examine their craft and its relation to "the national conscience."

The Professor comes from a midwest university and he said: "Well, here we meet again, my good friend, the 'Sunshine Boy.' " We had had a private joke about that because he remembered reading Malcolm Cowley calling me "the Sunshine Boy" after I had written a piece titled "The Case for Optimism" at a moment in history when things looked mighty bleak.

"Well," he said, brooding over the word, "Optimism. The world carries a hydrogen bomb in its knapsack. The world sees the war spreading into Cambodia and Laos. The world is scared to death about ecological imbalance. What does it take to dishearten you?"

The occasion then prevented me from making more than a brief reply to a question fired like a revolver shot. There were some young people around us, some young instructors, so I wish to answer it at some length here. If optimism is an ailment, I fear I have an incurable case. And since this is May Day it is a good time to spell out my reasons. May 1, of old, is the time workingmen and women count their blessings. That is what May Day is all about; workers and their cause, and their conviction that that cause will triumph despite all the hardships and bitterness of their lot today.

To the professor I said, "As you know, I have held with Marxism-Leninism a long time now. This is a social science which I share with many. About one billion human beings live by it now, a third of humanity."

Why am I fundamentally optimistic? Why do I think Man will triumph? Well, consider: First, in the infinitely small span of my lifetime, I saw one-third of the world transform its way of life despite incredible obstacles — pull away from the organization of society based on private property. That third of humanity now lives on the principle that property, natural wealth, all major industry, should be owned by the working people through their state, and be run by it. In brief, socialism.

"And you are content with the way socialism is going?" the professor asked, a tinge of sarcasm in his question.

"In fact," I replied, "I am astonished at its pace.

"Astonished?" he repeated. "Astonished? When capitalism is so far ahead, and when socialism has made so many mistakes!"

"Yes," I replied, "Astonished! I say it knowing that mistakes have been made, are being made, and will be made. I have traveled about a bit in the socialist world and have studied the Soviet Union and most of the socialist countries. That is why I am the optimist. I have seen what I have not seen here or elsewhere in the Western world, the capitalist world. I saw Man at his best in the Soviet Union. I saw hunger eliminated; I saw racism overcome; I saw illiteracy wiped out; I saw jobs for everybody; I saw rents as low as five percent of income; I saw medical care for each citizen from cradle to grave; I saw free compulsory education through the university degree. Furthermore, on foreign policy, I saw universal peace as the objective, peaceful co-existence. Not a bad record for a new system in so brief a time, the eye-blink span of one man's lifetime."

"Well," he replied, "suppose, for the sake of argument, we grant you much of that. But socialism does not equal what good old capitalism has achieved. We have a higher standard of living here than the Soviet Union has. I have been there and I saw."

I challenged that. "Things? Yes, we still have more **things** in the good old USA than the USSR has. We still have more washing machines, flying machines, television machines, autos, trucks, and so on. But old Ralph Waldo Emerson worried about that back in the 19th century. 'Things are in the saddle and are riding men,' the old philosopher said. Things are riding us here now. **Things** have the potential of making life easier, but not when they ride us. And they are riding hard, digging their spurs into us. We need something even more basic, more fundamental, more relevant to life."

"Like what?" the professor asked.

"Like the sense of human belonging. In the Soviet Union, the child feels loved, not only by its family, but by its other parent, the state. He or she will get an education free as far as abilities permit. He will never be hungry. He will not be insulted nor injured socially. He is certain that he will get his job when he finishes his schooling. He is not alienated. No small satisfaction, right?"

"But," the professor insisted, "will he have free choice to choose his profession or his job or go wherever he wants to go when he finishes school? In general, the whole question of personal freedom, individual liberty. That's where your whole thesis falls down, my dear Sunshine Boy, my good Pollyanna, that's where your Achilles heel is."

Sooner or later they all get to that.

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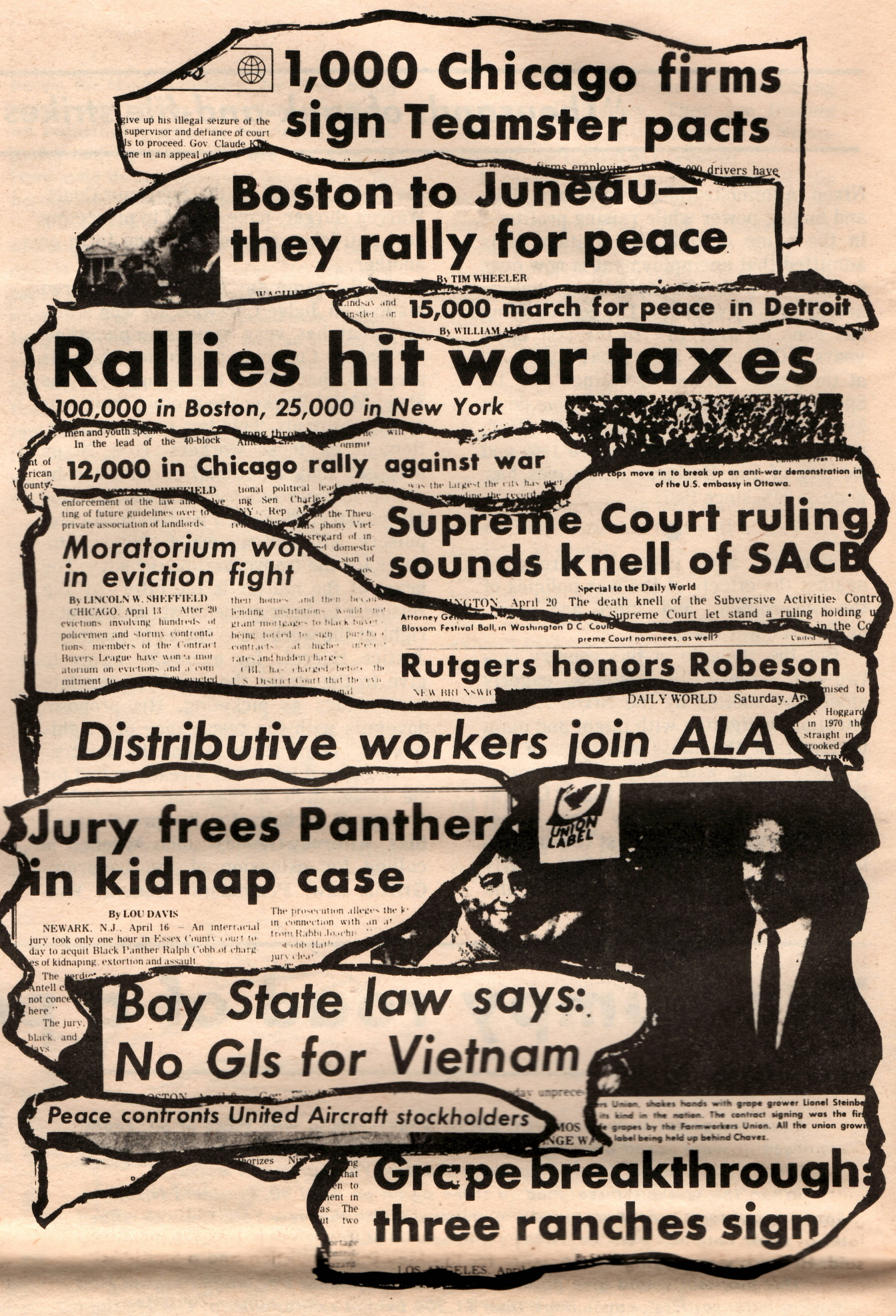
As socialism wins victory after victory, its opponents stress one point — individual liberty — and I gave him my personal reaction to that question.

"The socialist world," I responded, "is paced by the Soviet Union. It came first. Its experience is of enormous help to all others. I want to tell you what I saw there. For one, there are no second-class citizens there, a condition capitalism has imposed upon the black, brown and red segments of our population: twenty-five million blacks, nine million Chicanos, one-and-a-half million Puerto Ricans, half a million Indians on their lonely reservations — or, rather, their concentration camps.


1,000 Chicago firms sign Teamster pacts
Boston to Juneau— they rally for peace
15,000 march for peace in Detroit
Rallies hit war taxes
100,000 in Boston, 25,000 in New York
12,000 in Chicago rally against war
Moratorium wo in eviction fight
Supreme Court ruling sounds knell of SACB
Rutgers honors Robeson
Distributive workers join ALA
Jury frees Panther in kidnap case
UNION LABEL
Bay State law says: No GIs for Vietnam
Peace confronts United Aircraft stockholders
Grape breakthrough: three ranches sign

"Second, consider the USSR again. To survive as a working class state, it had to adopt a system of safeguarding the revolution in the hostile world surrounding it that required the Dictatorship of the Many against the Counter-Revolution of the Few. The Many, working people of factory and countryside; the Few, the former employing class who plotted to recapture power. The Few conspired with the foreign enemy. They threatened the historic gains won in the almost bloodless revolution. But all this was jeopardized when fifteen armies, including two of ours, invaded the new working class republic. Did you expect the people to blandly invite its enemies, or enemy influence, thoughts, ideology, to share the podium for the future of Man? I did not and I do not. I believe the revolution has the right to safeguard itself, it has the need and the obligation to do so in the interest of the good and welfare of the many.

"And I say this, my good Professor: please curb imperialism, its machinations, and you have stronger moral grounds to talk about personal freedoms. So long as the CIA roams the world to bring desolation, as it has so swiftly to Cambodia, and before that as it tried to bring to Cuba at the Bay of Pigs, and before that to Arbenz' Guatamala and to Mossadegh's Iran, then come to talk to me about individual rights."

The Professor made an imperious gesture to interrupt, but I was sailing now full speed ahead. "I've got the floor, doctor. I will surrender it to you in a moment. Now, if you ask me, do I think socialism has come thus far without mistakes, I will answer that it has made mistakes. Of course. Socialism is made by human beings and to err is human, right? Of course it has made its mistakes. Imperialism ringed the USSR around, conspired to pull it down at a suitable moment. In 1929 the USSR said it must build its heavy industry, create collective farms within ten years or imperialism will crush it. The interventionists obliged the socialist world—just one nation at that time — to go on a forced march, pull in their belts and to build that heavy industry that could produce the tanks, guns, planes, all the hardware to meet the inevitable onslaught which Stalin and the Soviet leadership foresaw would hit them sooner or later. Of course errors were made on the way, primarily by what they called the 'cult of the personality.' "

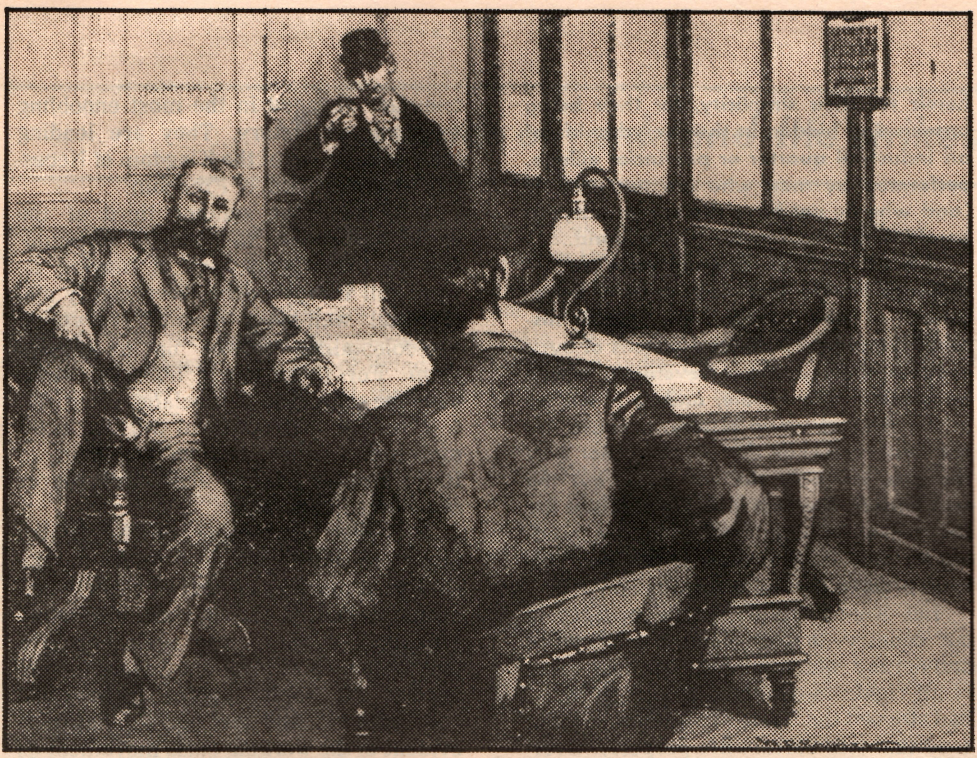
"Ah, you do admit error," the Professor exulted.

"Yes," I replied, "but don't we say wisdom consists of never repeating the same mistake twice, and not of making errors? That anyone is bound to do when doing something."

Well, the professor shrugged his shoulders and we shook hands. We will continue the debate when we meet at the podium next time.

What I said to him is a thumbnail summary of what I believe this May Day of 1970. I believe that the working class has accomplished miracles since the first May Day. Miracles? It has demonstrated the power inherent in the workingman, proving that his class is the motor power of history today. I believe the working-class has achieved victories, here and abroad — enormous ones abroad, where socialism exists. And here at home? I remember when my father, a blacksmith, worked 14 hours a day at the Baldwin Locomotive Works in Eddystone, Pa., and was terribly glad to have the job — which paid him $5 a week. I was a child then and I remember it well. He was dead before he reached the age of 40,

Continued on page 10



The assassination attempt.

American Past

BERKMAN

FRICK

Story of a terrorist

By ART SHIELDS

This is the story of a youth who tried to win an historic strike for the steel workers in Homestead, Pa. But he acted without consulting the strikers themselves. His method was individual terror. He tried to kill a big boss, but helped to kill a strike instead.

The terrorist, Alexander Berkman, expected to die for his deed. His courage cannot be questioned. But he hurt the men he tried to help. And I think of Berkman when some folks try to change the world by individual acts of violence.

Berkman didn't understand the men he wanted to help. He came to the United States from a house full of servants in Tsarist Russia. He tells in his autobiography of his parents' "well-appointed country place in a fashionable suburb of St Petersburg."

He was inspired by the nihilists of old Russia. They were opposed to all exploitation—and to all authority as well. He wanted a nihilist revolution, and joined the "Pioneers of Freedom" in New York. This was a tiny group of rebels, who called themselves "Anarchists." They were against any kind of government. And they hoped to inspire the masses to rise by committing deeds of violence against the powers that be.

This was in 1892—a bloody year for Labor. In Idaho, Big Business was killing miners in the Coeur d'Alene strike. In Homestead, Andrew Carnegie, the steel king, left orders to smash the union, then sailed for Scotland, leaving Henry Frick, his chairman, behind to do the killing.

Frick was a hardened killer. His gunmen came from the Pinkerton Detective Agency, a murderous outfit. They had butchered dozens of strikers in the coking coal fields below Pittsburgh in the last decade. And on July 6, 1892, 300 "Pinks," armed with 16-shot Winchesters, came to Homestead in river boats before dawn. The battle raged all day. There were Civil War veterans among the defenders. And by nightfall nine workers and seven gunmen were dead or mortally wounded. The surviving enemies surrendered, and the battle was won.

But the strike wasn't over. State troops were coming. Frick boasted that he intended to wipe out the Amalgamated Association of Iron and Steel Workers. And Berkman told his anarchist comrades that the brutal boss must die. He foolishly thought that Carnegie would have to settle with the union when Frick was buried. And the death of the "tyrant" would make good "anarchist propaganda," he felt sure. He gives this view in his book.

The death mission needed money, and Berkman had almost none. A rich family was no longer behind him. But "Sasha," as his friends called him, finally acquired a rusty pistol with the help of his sweetheart, Emma Goldman, and other members of the anarchist circles. And he arrived in the iron city at a critical point in the strike. State troops were patrolling Homestead now, but strike morale was high. Money was coming from trade unions in many cities. And the strike was spreading. Carnegie's men in Pittsburgh and Beaver Falls had walked out a few days before Berkman arrived. And best of all the big Duquesne plant was shut down. Its men joined the strike on July 23, a few days before Berkman pulled the trigger.

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Frick's prestige was sinking at the same time. His blood-letting had shocked the country. Nor was it winning the strike. Republican Party leaders were urging Carnegie to settle with the men. New York's Senator, Chauncey Deway, admitted this later:

> ". . . The Homestead strike was one of the most important factors in the Presidential contest . . . and injured us irremediably. . . The Republican leaders attempted early in the campaign to have the strike settled."

And the anarchist was blind to what was happening around him. "I feel the strength of a great undertaking," he said to himself. And he gained admittance to Frick's office by pretending that he headed a scabherding agency.

Berkman's first two shots struck Frick's neck. Another man grappled with Berkman and threw him down, and the pistol only clicked when the trigger was pressed again. Berkman managed to stab Frick with a homemade knife that was once a file, as the steel boss lay on the floor. When a carpenter hit the would-be assassin's head with a hammer, and Berkman went to jail.

Frick's wounds were not serious. The boss was back at his strikebreaking job in 13 days. Many middle-class people still condemned the Pinkerton atrocities, but the union was falsely linked with anarchist assassins by the lying press. The company got more support. The militia grew tougher. Troops crushed the Duquesne strike with violence soon after Frick returned to his desk. And Hugh O'Donnell, the strike leader, declared that Berkman had fired a bullet "into the heart of the strike."

But the anarchist never understood the harm he did. He blamed the workers for not supporting him, instead. And he was crushed with disappointment at his attitude of a striker who was imprisoned with him. Jack Tinford, the striker, had been accused of throwing dynamite at the Pinkertons during the battle. He was a hero in the anarchist's eyes. But when Berkman approached him and said, "Jack, it was for you, for your people that I—," the steel worker angrily interrupted him. Such "gab" will only harm the strikers, he said.

"Bitterness and anger against the Homestead striker filled my heart," Berkman later wrote. He thought of Tinford as a "Judas." He began to despair of the working class. The worker is just a "dullard," he thought. And he wondered, "When will he open his eyes?"

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Berkman's hopes were crushed again at his trial. He had expected to explain the role of an anarchist revolutionist in his speech to the jury. He wrote a 40-page address in German because his English was insufficient. But the Pittsburgh judge gave him a blind interpreter, who stumbled so badly that the judge cut him off rather quickly. And Berkman, who rejected the services of "a capitalist" attorney, got a 22 year sentence — three times what the law provided. He served 14 years.

.In Homestead, the mills were running full blast again after five months. The best union men were blacklisted. Wages were cut in half. The eight-hour day was replaced by a 12-hour shift and the seven-day week. This continued until the Great Steel Strike, led by William Z. Foster in 1919, brought eight hours back. And still Berkman didn't know the harm he had done.

His later years were tragic. My old friend, Pat Cush, the former president of the biggest union lodge in Homestead, told of attending a pitiful meeting that Berkman addressed in Homestead after his release. Less than 20 men attended, and most of them were detectives or company stoolpigeons.

Berkman opposed the imperialist world war in 1917. That was to his credit. And in 1919, after his release from prison he was deported to Soviet Russia with Emma Goldman. The Soviet Union accepted them, gave them medical care, courtesy and good jobs. But they turned against the socialist government nonetheless. They were against every kind of government. And they couldn't understand why the Soviet people had to curb the underground anarchist opposition when the Soviet Union was fighting for its life against intervention, White Guard rebellion, sabotage and famine.

The two anarchists left the Soviet Union as enemies at last. In France, where Berkman found refuge, the workers were turning to the Communists, while the anarchists withered away. In 1936, Berkman shot himself in despair.

Joseph North

Continued from page 4

burned out, dead of an occupational disease. I remember that he spoke of the need to build unions; they did not have one in his industry. Unionism today exists for 18 million strong, and prevents the employing class from grinding down the producing class to a newfangled industrial slavery. In other words, I believe the American working class is better equipped, better organized, to fight back today.

I am an internationalist. I rejoice in the advance of others, for others are us, affect the lives of our people, our working class. In the first place I rejoice in the advances of the working class of the Soviet Union, that working class state. I believe, this working class holiday of May Day 1970, that the world may well have been in the throes of its final war were it not for the USSR. Furthermore, I believe the forces for peace are stronger than those for war — and will, with planned unity, stop the war machine.

I believe that the world today might well have seen the Swastika flying over the steeples of most of the world were it not for the working class of the USSR. I was on the Volga last October and I saw the reconstructed city of Volgograd, formerly called Stalingrad. I saw the final foot of soil where the Nazi panzer division reached, and saw where the Red Army soldier had scrawled on the wrecked wall, "So far and no further." I stood on the hilltop of Mamaev Kurgan where the earth had been changed into a mountain of metal from the Nazi barrage. I saw the million names of the Soviet dead who had stopped the Nazis at Stalingrad. I saw what the working class had achieved, in heroism and in performance. That is the main thing to be said. That, and not the errors that are inevitable for all human beings.

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Whenever I am hit over the head with the USSR's mistakes, I think of Lenin's "Letter to the American Workers" which bears repeating:

"Let the kept bourgeois press howl to the whole world about each mistake made by our revolution. We are not afraid of our mistakes. Men have not become saints because the revolution has begun. The toiling classes, oppressed and downtrodden for centuries, and forced into the clutches of poverty, savagery and ignorance, cannot be expected to bring about a revolution flawlessly...

"For every hundred mistakes of ours heralded to the world by the bourgeoisie and its lackies... there are 10,000 great and heroic deeds, the greater and more heroic for their simplicity, for their being unseen and hidden in the everyday life of an industrial quarter or provincial village, performed by men who are not used to (and who do not have the opportunity to) herald their achievements to the world...

"But even if the contrary were true — although I know this supposition to be incorrect — even if there were 10,000 mistakes for every 100 correct actions of ours, even in that case, our revolution would be great and invincible, and so it will be in the eyes of world history, because, for the first time, not the minority, not only the rich, not only the educated, but the real masses, the vast majority of toilers are themselves building a new life, are deciding by their own experience the most difficult problems of socialist organization."

Let Americans overcome poverty in our country, that criminal breakdown of democracy which denies the most basic of all rights to one-third of our people — had stopped the Nazis at Stalingrad. I saw food that will sustain life properly. Overcome the bestiality of racism. When we have withdrawn the Army from Vietnam and Laos and from the 2,000 military bases we have around the world, then talk to me about the superiority of our democracy.

Meanwhile, this May Day of 1970 I rejoice that we, the people of the world, have the Soviet Union and the socialist world. The working class of those countries are engaged in the most ennobling work of all history. They are leading their peoples out of the Kingdom of Necessity into the Realm of Freedom.

I rejoice that another third of the world has broken the hold of imperialism in their lands, and is moving toward full independence, sovereignty and material well-being despite everything neo-colonialism throws up to impede them. For these newly liberated lands have the support of the socialist countries.

I rejoice that powerful working class movements exist in such countries as Italy, France, Japan and many places elsewhere in the world.

I rejoice that here, in the United States, we have youth who refuse to take No for an answer, an anti-war spirit that cannot be halted and that will ultimately prevail, a mighty surge against racism that welled up to force the Senate to vote against the racist judges Haynsworth and Carswell. And that new animation is evident in the working class movement as we write elsewhere in this issue.

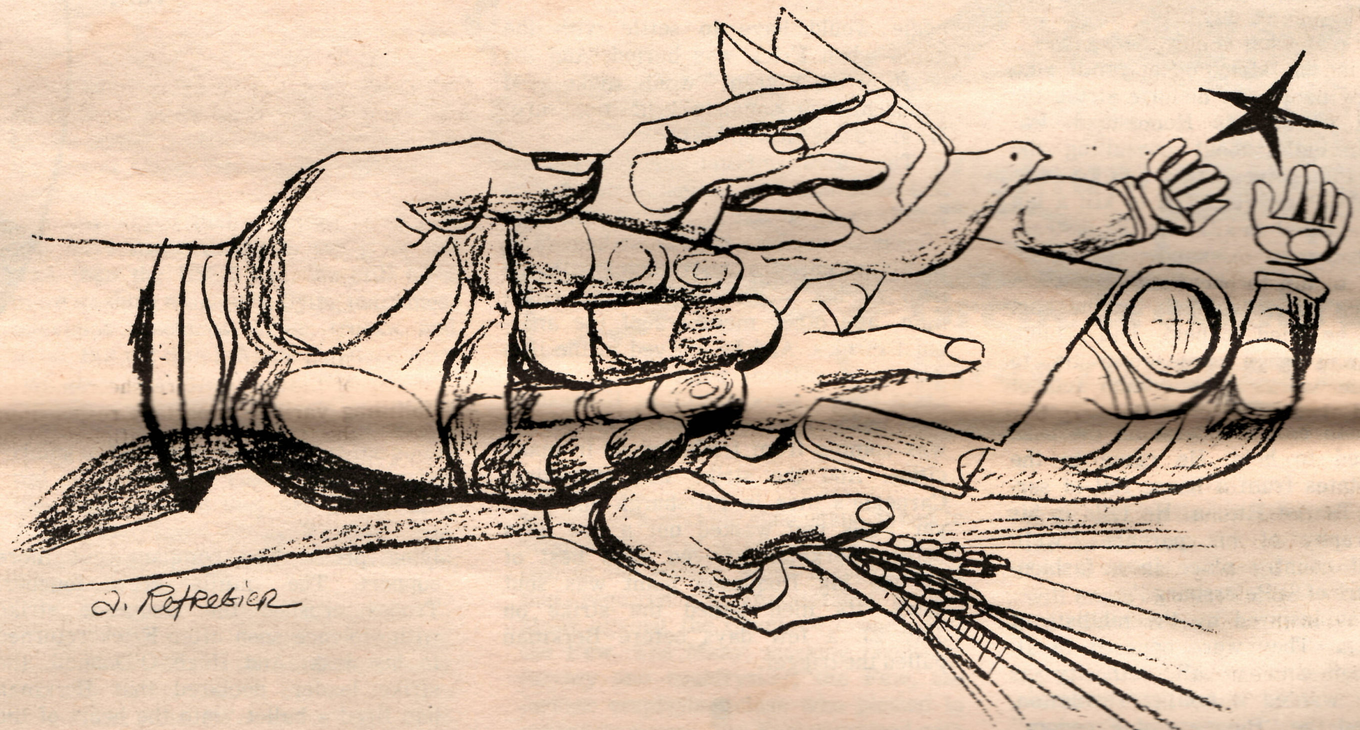
Is there cause for optimism this year of 1970?

We — the working class people of the world — who came this far and only in the last period of history, will go farther and rid the world of wars and racism, hunger and degradation.

All that has happened since May Day 1886 says we can.

LENIN'S HAND

Anton Refregier



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These statements were written for World Magazine on the occasion of the Lenin centenary celebrations.

Lenin towers as a giant among the great men in world history. He led his people through the most epic struggle for freedom ever recorded.

Albert Einstein called him "Keeper of the human conscience." He had great human love for the workers, for he fully understood their suffering at the hands of their exploiters. He unhesitatingly chose the path of a dedicated revolutionary.

The late Bertrand Russell wrote of him: "Others could destroy, but no other man could build so well. He was both philosopher and creator of a practical system, the kind of a statesman who is not born more than once in a century, and whose equal we may never live to see."

He was an avid and tireless seeker and exponent of truth, for he clearly understood that when the people become equipped with clarity, with understanding, with the truth, they become fearless and invincible fighters for freedom and justice, for peace and the brotherhood of man.

Truth is the mortal enemy of reaction and greed, exploitation and war. If instead of being hated and persecuted, the true benefactors of mankind had been encouraged, how much more progress could have been and would be made in the art of living!

JOHN T. BERNARD
former congressman from Minnesota
and former president of a local of the
Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers

I was sent to Russia in 1916 under the Tsar's regime to care for the prisoners of war. The conditions under the Tsar were terrible. In the first prison camp 75 were dying a day and I cut this down to five. Some 92% of the people were illiterate, the peasants were slaves of the landlords. I knew this tyranny would be overthrown.

When Lenin came to power I saw him repeatedly and he even gave me an autographed photograph of himself. Lenin was one of the most sincere and dedicated leaders I have ever met. He believed that the people should have the power. He said to me, "We must abolish landed ownership by the nobility, the workers should control production and everything should be run for the people."

As soon as he got into power Lenin began implementing this. He had to struggle against invasion in 1917 by United States troops backed by other foreign forces, but he won because the Russian people were overwhelmingly behind him.

Lenin believed that the only way you could get justice for the people was for the people to secure power and overthrow the Tsar's aristocracy. He succeeded in doing this. At the time I doubted if he could abolish unemployment and provide free medical care for all the people. But this has worked out, as anyone who goes there can see.

JEROME DAVIS

Executive Director Emeritus,
Promoting Enduring Peace, Inc.

Dr. Davis is leading a Peace Seminar tour to the Soviet Union this summer, from July 16 to August 6, which will include a boat ride down the Volga River, with stops at collective farms and cities along the way, and a stay in Moscow. Also planned are meetings with government leaders and a visit to Lenin's tomb. The cost will be $995. Those interested may contact Dr. Davis at the Friends House, Sandy Spring, Md. 20860.

The Editors

Life of dedication

By HYMAN LUMER

"She took time to answer many of my questions, to help in matters that had little relation to my subscription. In matters that I wrote to her about she was most considerate and took such an interest."

So wrote a reader of Political Affairs of its late editor Betty Gannett following her tragic death on March 4 of this year. If anything can be said to typify Betty it was this: her warm, human concern for people. She carried on an extensive correspondence with readers and friends of the magazine. She was never too busy to answer questions, to try to help with problems.

Betty Gannett, one of the outstanding women leaders of the Communist Party, was born in Poland on July 30, 1906. She came to this country with her family in 1914 at the age of eight. She grew up in New York, in what is now the Puerto Rican section of Harlem. Her family was extremely poor and her education, after completing grade school and two years of commercial school, was cut short by the need to help support the family.

In 1923 Betty joined the Communist Party and the Young Communist League. From that time on the party and the cause of socialism became the center of her entire existence. She never swerved from the path she had chosen.

In her many years of active political life she served the party in many capacities, and always she gave the very best she had. In the words of the message of condolence sent by the Communist Party of Michigan: **"For Betty, there was only one way of doing things: above and beyond the call of duty. In the fields of organizational tasks, teaching classes, or in recent years as editor of Political Affairs, it was always with complete and total dedication."**

In the late twenties, she was sent to Ohio by the YCL. There, in the course of her activities, she was arrested on charges of criminal syndicalism, convicted and sentenced to ten years in prison. However, the conviction was reversed on appeal.

In the early thirties she returned to New York. There she served on the editorial staff of The Communist, forerunner of Political Affairs, and was editor of the publication Party Organizer.

She then went to California in the capacity of district educational director. There she developed to the full her considerable talents as a theoretician and teacher, as well as an organizer. While in California, she was a founder of the Western Worker and later of the People's World.

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In 1938 she was married to Jim Tormey, also a leading figure in the Communist Party in California at the time. Their marriage proved to be a truly happy and enduring one.

In 1941 Betty's work took her to Chicago, where she served as mid-west regional coordinator for the party throughout most of the years of World War II. In this capacity she covered a territory embracing Michigan, Illinois (except Chicago), Wisconsin, Minnesota, Iowa, North and South Dakota, and the Rocky Mountain states. Her work is remembered by the leadership of the Minnesota District of the Party in these words:

"In our district we recall the years that Comrade Betty Gannett ably extended a helping hand to us, teaching, speaking at our public meetings, travelling with us, conducting classes, making us feel she was learning from us too, and always giving her best and expecting our best from us... She woke in those who worked with her, in youth and women most particularly, a wish to be likewise dynamic, strong and selfless, imbued as she was with Communist consciousness."

Toward the end of the war Betty returned to New York once more, this time as assistant national organizational secretary of the party. Here she remained, fulfilling various important responsibilities in the fields of organization and education. In 1963 she became executive editor of Political Affairs, and in 1967 editor. At the time of her death she was a member of the National Committee of the Communist Party and of its Political Committee.

In the course of her nearly half a century of political activity, Betty Gannett took part in or led many a mass struggle. In her years as a YCL leader she was involved in the struggles of the coal miners in Western Pennsylvania. In California she was active in the battles of the agricultural workers. As midwest regional coordinator she became involved in the struggles of the Farm Equipment Workers, the Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers and other unions.

Along with other Communist leaders, Betty suffered the persecutions of the ruling class as a victim of the Smith Act. In June 1951 she was arrested with 15 other party leaders on charges of conspiring "to advocate and teach the duty and necessity of overthrowing and destroying the Government of the United States by force and violence."

Convicted on this police-state charge, and with the conviction upheld by the Supreme Court, she served a term in the women's federal prison at Alderson, West Virginia in 1955-56. With her were other woman leaders of the party, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn and Claudia Jones.

Prior to her imprisonment she was also seized upon by the Immigration Service, which tried unsuccessfully to deport her. However, she was subjected to virtual house arrest and other harassments for the rest of her life.

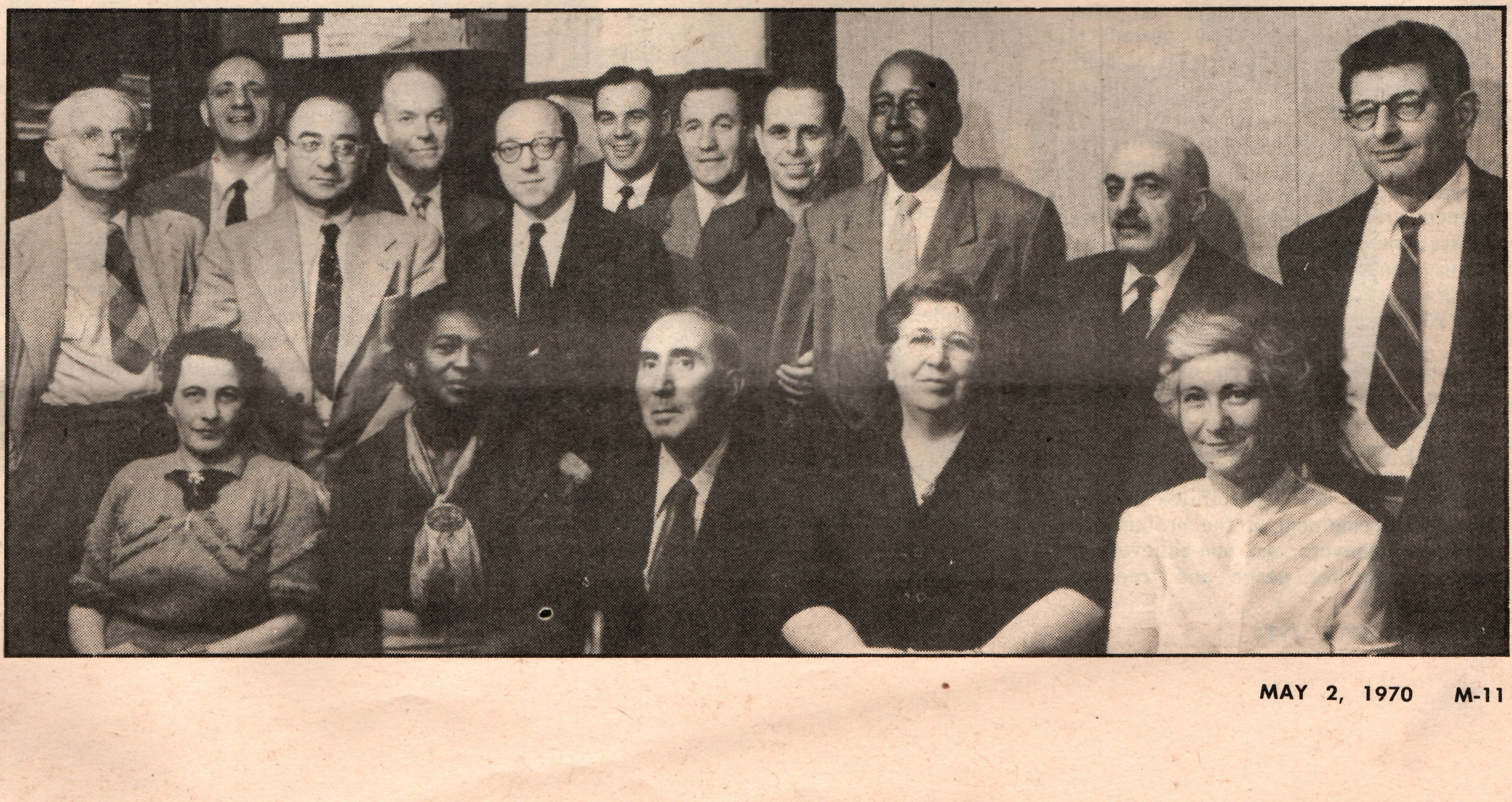
The period from the Smith Act arrest to imprisonment was a most difficult one. These were the years of McCarthyism at its worst. It was in these years that Betty Gannett really showed her mettle. Speaking at her funeral, the noted attorney John J. Abt said:

"It was during the most difficult days in the history of the Communist Party that I really came to know Betty Gannett. The members of the party's political committee were either in prison or in hiding to avoid imprisonment, the party itself faced outlawry, and its members were being jailed throughout the country...

"It was a time when the continued existence of the party was in jeopardy, when Betty's personal liberty hung in the balance, and when she was under constant harassment by the FBI and the Immigration Service. It was at this critical moment in her own life and the life of her party that the duties of leadership came to rest largely on her slender shoulders."

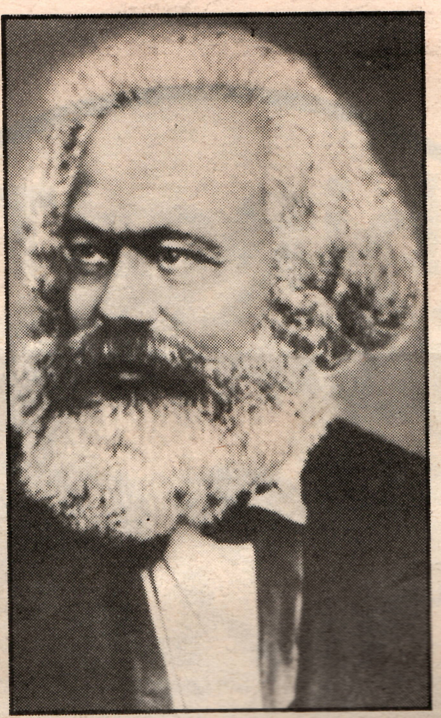
These arduous responsibilities she undertook and carried out unflinchingly. This quality of perseverance under overwhelming difficulties Betty displayed also during the prolonged period of the illness which finally claimed her life. Despite growing pain and physical incapacity, she continued to bear the main burden of getting Political Affairs out month after month almost up to the very end.

Betty Gannett is fondly remembered by comrades and friends in many parts of the country who had occasion to know her and to work with her. She has in the course of her life made a noteworthy contribution to the cause of peace, freedom and socialism. In her role as leader, organizer, theoretician and ideologist, teacher, in her selfless devotion to the party and all it stands for, she is a model to all of us — both her contemporaries and the younger generation.



Victims of the Smith Act: seated, l to r, Marion Bachrach, Claudia Jones, Israel Amter, Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, Betty Gannett; standing, l to r, Alexander Bittleman, William Weinstone, Isadore Begun, Arnold Johnson, V.J. Jerome, Simon W. Gerson, Louis Weinstock, Al Lannon, Pettis Perry, Alexander Trachtenberg, George Blake Charney.

THERE CAN BE A DIALOGUE



The religious question, for Marxists, is subordinated to the question of unity of the working class in the struggle for the transformation of capitalist society into socialist society."

— Antonio Gramsci

By CARLOS BERGER

The many recent changes in the Catholic Church, summed up in the Second Vatican Council and the papacy of John XXIII, have brought about a change in the attitude of many Communist parties toward the Catholics. The new attitude derives from an older attitude, but has been made clearer by these events.

Attitudes of Chilean Communists towards the Catholics are based on two principles: (1) The Communists are in favor of the unity of all the workers and all the progressive elements of society, without regard to their religious beliefs and philosophical concepts, in the struggle for the attainment of a popular government and the ultimate building of socialism. (2) The Communists, although they are convinced secularists and materialists in their philosophy, are deeply respectful of the beliefs of others, and enemies of all religious persecution, since the liberty of conscience which they defend includes, naturally, freedom of worship and religious association. These principles are expressly established in the Program of the Communist Party and in the common Program of Government approved by all parties of the Left.

The policy of the outstretched hand by Communists towards Catholics was defined more than thirty years ago by Maurice Thorez, secretary-general of the Communist Party of France. The years and the facts have shown its correctness. In Chile, even before there was a clear theoretical concept dealing with this matter, unity of the workers was regarded as transcending religious differences. A single labor federation, a union in each factory, a deep class solidarity in each chapter of struggle, have shown the wisdom of this policy. Splitting maneuvers have not been successful, and the organization of Christian labor unions, aimed at dividing the working class, has been successfully opposed.

Economic struggles acquire greater effectiveness with greater dialogue, greater exchange of ideas, greater reciprocal understanding. Catholic bishops are interviewed for Communist publications, and participate in forums organized by the Communists. Communists are invited to give talks and lectures at Catholic colleges and other Catholic institutions. The period of anathema, of excommunication, is coming to an end, and the path of dialogue has been opened.

The changes which have taken place in the Catholic Church, and the new perspectives which have thus been opened, are in no way peculiar to Chile. A statement approved by the Seventeenth Congress of the French Communist Party says:

"Whatever the deeper motives behind the new position of the representatives of the Church may be, we cannot underestimate the importance of the change that has taken place. What is of the utmost importance to us Communists is that these changes objectively present new possibilities for still further development of the brotherhood between believers and non-believers in the struggle for peace and freedom, for progress and for democracy, and, in the future, for socialism.

The Italian Communist Party goes even farther when, in one of the theses of their Tenth Party Congress, they say:

"It is a question not merely of the embracing of socialist aspirations by men who have a religious faith, but rather of the stimulation which such aspirations can find in a true religious conscience, in the face of the crucial problems of the contemporary world."

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On the fringes of the Church, and despite the Church's efforts to curb them, thousands are participating in the struggle against capitalist exploitation, the struggle for socialism. Fewer and fewer are content to hope for a betterment of their lives in heaven; more and more are doing everything to obtain a better life in this world. Many believers are beginning to act independently of religion and of the Church; others are demanding a revision of religious-political concepts, because the traditional concepts are in conflict with their social aspirations.

Thus, in order to take into account the difficulties of believers, and not to lose its influence over them, the ecclesiastical hierarchy must renew itself, must adapt itself to the modern world, as the only way in which to maintain the influence of religion. It is this effort at adaptation which finds its greatest expression in the realistic approach of John XXIII shown in his encyclical **Pacem in Terris**.

Naturally, not everyone in the hierarchy adheres to this new approach. There remains an active right wing, which in different countries has different forms, but which in general expresses and defends the imperialism of the ruling class, and which stands as the staunch defender of the **status quo** and the brutal enemy of socialism and the Communists.

Although on the philosophical plane there may be radical differences between Marxists and the most rebellious elements in the Church, in social and political action a common front is possible. Catholics and Communists are workers, oppressed by the same exploiters, subjected to the same injustices. Neither can the Communists ask the Catholics to become atheists, nor can the Catholics require the Communists to become converted to religion. It is not a question of abjuring their respective philosophical concepts, nor of unleashing persecutions of any kind.

Karl Marx points out that it is man who creates religion and not the other way about, but that in the course of history successive mutations take place: because of its character religion seems to become independent of man and is frequently used by the ruling classes to strengthen their rule.

Lenin pointed out that propaganda for atheism must be subordinate to fundamental political tactics: the development of the struggle of the exploited masses for the liberation of the working class and the building of socialism. He added that it was necessary to admit into the Party all workers, even though they kept their faith in God—including even priests, on condition that they were willing to defend the Party program. For the Communists, the fundamental division is not between believers and atheists, but between exploited and exploiters.

The Communist Party of Chile is guided by these teachings of Lenin, and it is not uncommon to find within its ranks large numbers of Christians, Catholics, and especially Protestants, who find in their religious faith the inspiration for revolutionary action. In recent times it has also been observed how some progressive priests whose parishes are in working-class areas, have collaborated actively with Communist youth in political and cultural activities, including assemblies preparatory to the last National Congress of the Young Communist League.

The changes which are shaking the Church throughout the world have their repercussions in Chile. The Camilo Torres Movement, inspired by the Colombian guerilla priest, has a following particularly in the universities. The Young Church Movement, with followers among the laity and the clergy, also speaks out in favor of revolution and has led some spectacular activities destined to command the attention of the Catholic hierarchy—as, for instance, the seizure of the Cathedral of Santiago. In Valparaiso, there exists another movement, the Church-People League, which is also composed of clergy and laity, and which speaks out for revolution and for socialism. Various of these organizations, with greater or lesser social influence, are struggling to separate the ruling classes and reconcile it with the people.

The new reality must be carefully examined by the Communists, in order that they may extract from it the necessary lessons, and in order that they may make their revolutionary activity adequate to the real conditions of the country. Whatever trace of dogmatism, of anti-religious narrowness, of a spirit of anti-clericalism, may survive, will be as pernicious to the dialogue as the position of the reactionary Catholics.

Dialogue, the struggle, and, above all, life itself, will solve the problems: the forms of property, the role of the state, freedom, etc. The center of dialogue and action should be aimed at furthering the Chilean revolution, rather than at elucidating the question of the existence or non-existence of God.

Said Maurice Thorez: "It is better to become united in order to achieve happiness on earth, than to argue the existence of a heaven in the sky."

The way is neither short nor smooth, but the goal is well worth the effort. While arguing with a Catholic worker who favored cooperation with the Communists to abolish poverty and exploitation, a traditional Catholic brought up the saying of Jesus, "The poor ye have always with you." "Very well," said the worker. "Let's leave two poor people on earth. We wouldn't want to contradict Jesus."

Translated by Richard Greenleaf, from El Siglo, organ of the Communist Party of Chile (Jan. 18, 1970), and excerpted.

"pure" unions and to avoid the necessary struggle to change the existing unions.

Lenin pointed out that "we must not regard what is obsolete to us as something obsolete to a class, to the masses."

The efforts to build the Lumber Workers Industrial Union was coupled with a constant effort to build rank and file movements in the existing unions, and to lead the fight for the unemployed both in the unions and outside to organize the unemployed, and the basis was laid for the building of the CIO.

In the 1940's I had the occasion to be on the State Agricultural Commission of the Communist Party of California. I then studied Lenin's "Capitalism and Agriculture in the United States" written in 1915 while Lenin was in exile in Switzerland.

In the study Lenin exposed the fallacy of the theory of the non-capitalist development of agriculture in the United States. He showed the general increase in the employment of hired labor, the growth of the number of wage workers, the decline in the number of independent farm owners, the erosion of the middle groups and the consolidation of the groups at both ends of the farm spectrum, and the growth of big capitalist farms and the displacement of the small.

California agriculture represented a classical development of capitalism as indicated by Lenin's study. At the time, with more than 12 million acres devoted to agriculture in California, there were only 350,000 farmers. Today there are less than 100,000, and California produces more agricultural products than any other state in the country. A half million agricultural workers have replaced the independent farmers.

Lenin's study was not written for use in the United States, yet it has been of irreplaceable value in understanding the development of agriculture in the United States.

In his study Lenin also noted the remarkable similarity between the economic status of the black people in the United States and that of the one-time serfs in the heart of agricultural Russia.

In the 1950's the Communist party was virtually outlawed by a coordinated attack of the Federal Government and big business. When members of the national board of the party were convicted under the Smith Act, our analysis was interpreted to mean that the outlawing of a political party meant that we were in the first stags of fascism. From this interpretation flowed many tactical and organizational decisions.

In California 15 of the state leaders were arrested and tried in Federal Court in Los Angeles. We spent more than six months in jail during the preliminary stages of the court case. We put in our time preparing for the court case.

We had various assignments,

(Continued on page 10)

a Pakistani Leninist

was a blow to British prestige and struck fear into the English colonial officials.

Nearly 2,000 were flung into prison without trial. Soon, I was also arrested and locked up with nearly 200 other prisoners at a former observation post on Bengal's border with Bhutan.

(Continued on page 10)

Editorial

Ignacio Zaragoza then, Vo Nguyen Giap today

One hundred and eight years ago, imperialism suffered a humiliating defeat. An invading force of France, then a major colonial power, was halted by a small, poorly equipped, but determined, liberation army. It took the French completely by surprise. There are lessons in that occurance, lessons which might well be recalled at this moment, lessons often forgotten in much of the hoopla surrunding Cinco de Mayo — May 5th, the anniversary of that battle.

During the years France occupied or dominated Mexico — years in which the resistance continued — the culture of the colonialists came into constant conflict with the rich culture of the Mexican people — the Indian culture which existed before Europeans came; the mestizo culture, the blending of the original with the Spanish conquerers' and the black victims of the country's short lived slavery. At times, after 1862, it reached the point where French was made mandatory in the schools, the architecture was changed. Even the streets were narrowed, Parisian style.

But in the end, the effort failed. Mexico would not accept direct colonialization for long. Nor could the native culture be stamped out by arrogant Europeans.

The eventually successful revolt against French colonialism, didn't mean the problems were over for the average Mexican nor did it mean foreign states would no longer meddle in Mexico's affairs. Today neocolonialism is the name of the game and is the method by which Mexico's economy is regulated in Washington and on Wall Street.

The changing of the language, then narrowing of the streets — there is very little difference between these actions and current efforts by Washington to turn all of Indochina into a coca cola drinking appendage to the United States.

The neon and the chrome of Broadway and Detroit transplanted to Saigon and Bangkok, the brothels, the racism, the black market, the presence everywhere of tall white men claiming authority, all this testifies to the inevitable effects of imperialism not only seeking to rob an area economically but also to dislodge its culture.

The "Viet Cong" — known to those who respect the culture of the Vietnamese as the National Liberation Front — the workers and peasants and intellectuals who make up its membership; the Alliance of National and Democratic Peace Forces, organized urban middle class people, and the Provisional Revolutionary Government which unites these forces, speak to the inevitable resistance of the people to foreign domination.

The same can be said about the people's struggle for self-determination and national independence by the Khmer Rouge — the Cambodian Left — and the peasants organized into the Laotian Pathet Lao.

So at this moment, when the U.S. imperialists have widened the conflict in Southeast Asia and are now plotting new moves to crush the resistance of the patriots of all Indochina, it is worth recalling the fight put up, May 5, 1862.

Led by General Ignacio Zaragoza, the Mexican peasant army licked the forces of Marshal Bozaine and set back the aims of Napoleon III, a man who had more in common with Richard Nixon than being also head of state. Militarily speaking, it was an uneven match but oppressed people are fighting for their freedom and dignity. They try harder.

The tragic irony of these struggles is that much of the suffering and sacrifices fall upon the people of the imperialist country. Families in the U.S. have given up over 40,000 sons to the unwinnable war in Southeast Asia. And now Nixon threatens to widen the conflict further.

It's all to no avail. Today the stage has been set for a new round of Cinco de Mayos — all overt the world.

From the staff

Liberal faith or revolutionary necessity

SAN FRANCISCO

THE MOVEMENT against the Reserve Officers Training Corps programs at the University of California, Stanford and other colleges has broken out of the liberal framework, and in the process shed some light on the current problems of the student movement.

The earlier fight to end compulsory ROTC could, and was, supported by anyone who believed in freedom of choice, even though the campaign was anti-militarist as well as a civil liberties issue.

But the battle to drive it from the campuses entirely was initiated by students with an anti-imperialist outlook.

ROTC is seen as a crucial program for the military. It trains some seventy percent of military officers.

For radicals, smashing it is viewed as concrete aid to the fight of the Vietnamese. But they also see ROTC as an integral part of the role of the universities as service and research arms of U.S. imperialism.

IN THE first round of the current struggle, large sections of some faculties were sympathetic. First of all they wanted to avoid trouble, but many also felt a military program was incompatible with the "objectivity" of the university.

So, at Stanford, Harvard and other colleges, though not at Berkeley, the faculties voted to strip ROTC of academic credit, and were moving to remove it.

Then the powers moved. The professors were made to understand federal reserach funds would be endangered if they moved against ROTC. Faculty members on the Berkeley ROTC study committee told one another they could not antagonize Governor Ronald Reagan. They approved ROTC. The Stanford faculty reversed itself.

THE RADICALS, who had always rejected the idea you could "purify" the university, now face the problem of mobilizing masses of students without much faculty support, and only on an anti-imperialist basis.

That is where the problem comes in. Despite a growing, though abstract, understanding of the crucial role of the working class for any fundamental change in our country, many student radicals don't concretely see how they can link up the struggles of working people today to their direct confrontation with the university. Yet smashing ROTC is a moral imperative.

So what has been happening is a loss of confidence in the ability to win allies.

There is a growing tendency to define the battle as between "the movement" those who have already achieved anti-imperialist understanding, and the imperialist enemy. So, when people argue for the tactic of deliberate aggressive confrontation with the cops, they say, "other tactics have failed, we must escalate." Or they point to costly damage they can inflict on the universities.

But they have not replaced the liberal faith in the effectiveness of winning majorities, with the revolutionary understanding of the necessity of winning and mobilizing masses.

—BOB KAUFMAN

A look at Betty Friedan and N.O.W.

Behind the coming women's strike

By **JUDY BASTON**

OAKLAND — Seven years ago a book was published that began to shake quite a few people up in this country.

Betty Friedan's "The Feminine Mystique" became a best-seller, reaching millions of women — and men — with the message that women were frustrated because they had been programmed to be little more than wives and mothers and denied the opportunity or the inclination to relate to the world outside the home.

Since Mrs. Friedan wrote her book, a movement has begun to develop out of women's frustration that has many facets and directions, but Mrs. Friedan is still perhaps the best known voice on behalf of women's rights.

And as that, what she has to say — and how it has developed over the past few years — has special significance, and effect. Even men of the press who give Mrs. Friedan the same snide treatment they give all women activists, still take her seriously, still listen to — and write about — what she has to say.

Mrs. Friedan was in the Bay Area last week, primarily to speak at a Mills College symposium on "Women: The Oppressed Majority."

Her presentation indicated that now she sees the need to mount action to end some of the causes of women's frustration.

And her analysis of society's general tensions was more comprehensive — some would say more political. But in parts it was based on myths that are just as false as those she's trying to combat.

The main action Mrs. Friedan urged was a 24 hour general strike on August 26, the 50th anniversary of the day the last necessary state ratified the constitutional amendment giving women the vote.

GENERAL STRIKE

The general strike, proposed by the Natl. Organization of Women, of which Mrs. Friedan was a founder, seems to be two-fold. It will deal both with what she called "radical" restructuring" of job requirements and the way they affect women, and with the "restructuring" needed in the "halls of political power."

During the first part of the day, Mrs. Friedan said, strikers would go to their institution of work, "refusing to do the menial chores that have been women's lot. Secretaries will cover typewriters, switchboard operators will unplug their boards, and for the first part of the morning discuss what in their particular work institution needs to be restructured."

An example of possible restructuring, she said, would be establishing open progression from so-called female jobs, such as secretary, to executive and administrative posts.

If lack of a child care center at work is a problem, she said, then on August 26 women should bring their babies into the stock exchange or faculty senate and dump them on the laps of the bosses.

During the afternoon women will collectively demand the needed restructuring, equal pay for equal work and credit or bylines for the work they do.

In the evening, women will converge with lighted candles on city hall — "to be visible as political people." That night, Mrs. Friedan said, women will "Occupy the halls of political power and conduct a dialogue about how city politics need restructuring." Politicians, she said, will be welcome to join us, but we will conduct the meetings.

NARROW VIEW

Mrs. Friedan called the strike "effective action confronting our own conditions," but her definition of what is "our own" is a narrow one.

She deals only with white collar and professional jobs, ignoring the many women who do "menial work" in factories — alongside men who are doing "menial work" as well (and usually getting paid more for it.)

Photo: Sid Sattler/LNS

NEW YORK women demonstrating to legalize abortions, prior to passage of new state law.

NOW — like much of women's liberation — is a middle class movement, and the politics inherent in Mrs. Friedan's concept of a general strike may be one of the things keeping it that way.

Her confusion was further indicated when she told the Mills audience, blue collar workers have been easily coopted, and it isn't that difficult to co-opt blacks. She claims the groups who will achieve a "radical restructuring" of society are youth, women and intellectuals, because they are less easy to co-opt.

Mrs. Friedan repeatdly contradicted herself, however, especially when she spoke of the frustration and isolation of U.S. women making them open to fascist appeals, if their hostilities aren't dealt with constructively.

Mrs. Friedan also spoke of the women's movement as cutting across class and race lines, and claimed that many of "her black sisters" such as Rep. Shirley Chisholm (D-N.Y.), "Feels more discriminated against as a woman than a black." But she emphasized that the total parallelism between the black and women's movements was "sick" and that the comparison had its limits.

Despite Mrs. Friedan's partial ignorance of other forces in society, much can be learned from her perspective for the women's movement.

She stressed action rather than consciousness raising rap sessions, and aid action around job discrimination is important. "Anyone who says jobs aren't important, are just part of the rat race, reflects a completely elitist movement of the rich whose needs will automatically be met."

Mrs. Friedan also attacked other "ideological traps" — belief in token appointments of women to public posts; academic or psychological jusitfications for male supremacist attitudes, and the attitude that "continuing education for women" after her children are are raised is sufficient.

The real story of the Coachella 'riot'

Special to The People's World

RIVERSIDE, Calif. — There's usually a story behind a story. All too often with the mass media it's the truth behind the lie.

On Monday morning April 6, the newspapers and airwaves in California — particularly the southern part of the state — were filled with stories about a riot that followed a farm union meeting in Coachella Valley.

According to the reports members of the Brown Berets, a militant Chicano youth organization, had disrupted a dance at the city park causing a riot. In the process of rioting the police station was occupied and the mayor's house burned down.

Some of the elements in the story were true. But when it's told by the two arrested youth it all changes. The violence, for instance, changes sides. And anyone acquainted with the history of the area knows that violence and hostility is perpetrated upon Spanish-speaking people in the area by anglo ranchers, officials and police.

The two men arrested were Carlos Basabe and Ernesto Calles, both students at Riverside City College. Basabe is a Vietnam veteran who served as a sergeant and was decorated twice for bravery. Both are politically active on the Riverside campus. Neither is a member of the Brown Berets. Here is their version of what happened during the early morning hours of April 6 as told by Calles:

"Carlos and I have been working to aid the farmworkers union for a long time, and we got word that they were having a barbecue and rally to celebrate the signing of three contracts in Coachella. We went down to celebrate and party with them, without any thought of causing trouble.

"After the barbecue there was a dance sponsored by Progressita, a Mexican-American fraternal organization. We hadn't paid. We didn't have any money to pay for our admission. When a girl came up to us and asked for our admission, we said we'd leave (the dance was held in the city park.) Then the director of the dance came over and told us we had to pay or leave.

"Carlos went up to the bandstand and said over the mike, in Spanish, 'We came from a far place to party with you, but we do not have money. We would like to dance, but if you want us to go, we'll go.' He quickly walked away from the mike.

"Then a cop came up to him and said, 'You're under arrest for disturbing the peace and soliciting.' We thought he was kidding, since we had done neither. Then I asked the people around me in the crowd: 'Did he disturb your peace? Did he disturb yours?' Everyone said no.

"The cop said to Carlos, 'Let's go off to the side where we can talk.' Then Carlos saw the cop's mace can and asked: 'Why do you want to go away from here so you can mace me, so you can beat me?'

"The crowd began to tell us to dance and pushed us away from the cop. We were dancing for a while when about a dozen cops formed a wedge and pushed through the crowd to us. Before I saw them they grabbed me from behind and threw me to the ground, tightly handcuffed me and pulled back my head by the hair and maced me in the face. I suffer from an asthmatic condition and had trouble breathing. They dragged me all the way to the police station.

"Carlos was jumped on, beaten, tightly handcuffed and dragged across concrete to the police station. He was unconscious when he arrived, with his pants around his ankles and his underpants gone. He had been dragged through the crowd completely exposed.

"I was never told I was under arrest. One cop came up to my tiny cage, banged on it and spat in my face. Later, another maced me in the face while I was still in the cage.

"Carlos' handcuffs were so tight that his hands were numb, but the cops would not remove them until Charles Farnsworth, a farm workers attorney who came to see us several hours later, asked them to do so.

"We were moved to the Indio jail to be booked and my brown beret was held as evidence. Then we were moved to Riverside county jail, where we were held in the waiting room for nine hours without being allowed to lie down or sleep. We were also interrogated there."

Reports from Coachella indicate when the people at the dance figured out what had happened, they went to the police station, broke in and were driven out, apparently with pepper shot. Soon there were 100 police on the scene, including sheriff's deputies and members of the Highway Patrol. They reportedly roamed the tiny town shooting tear gas at groups of people and into homes. This resulted in one six month old baby being hospitalized.

Having been incited into riot by the police, street fighting—Berkeley style — erupted. Sometime before dawn the mayor's house went up in flames.

Basabe and Calles are charged with misdemeanor disturbing the peace and two felonies, inciting to riot and resisting arrest. Many community and campus organizations in the Riverside-San Bernardino and Coachella-Imperial areas have rallied to their defense.

AFL-CIO
UNION LABEL

CESAR CHAVEZ with new union label, to appear on boxes of union-harvested grapes.

Face death in racist court

Protests demand time for defense of Soledad Three

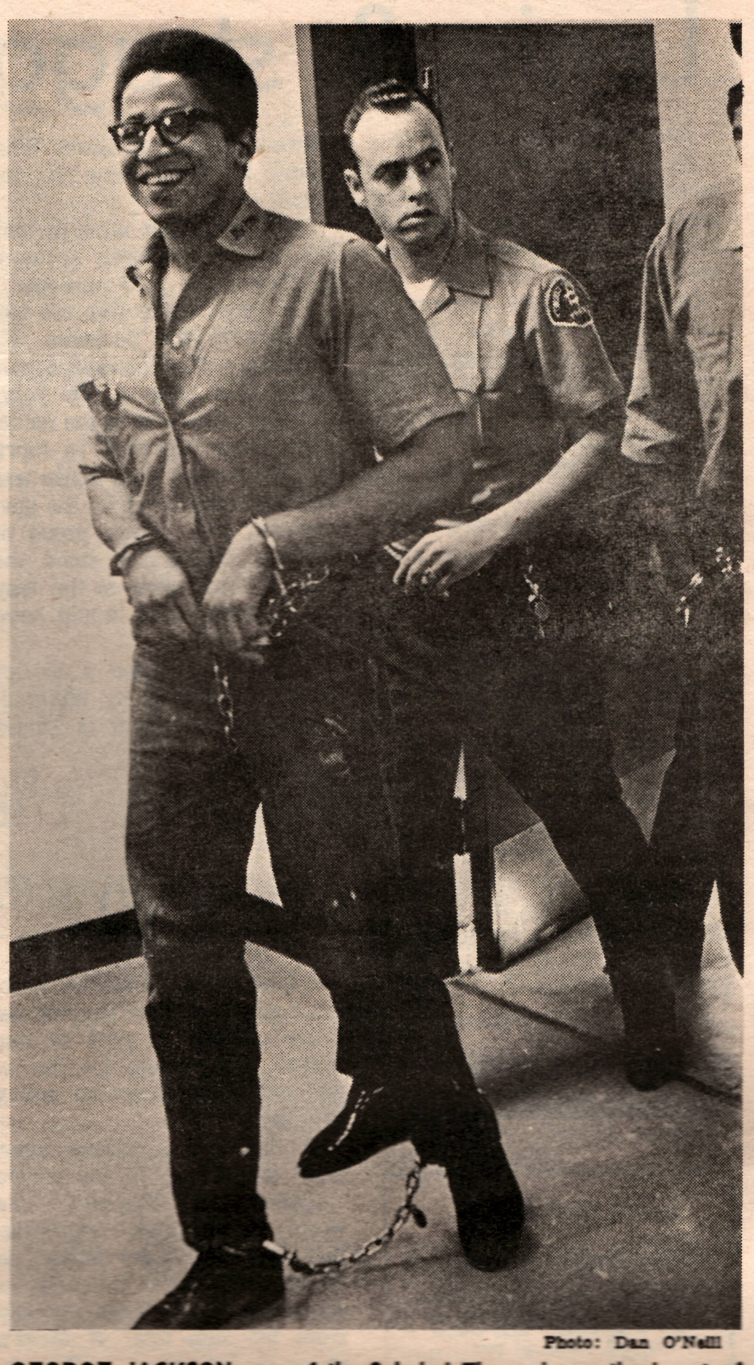

Photo: Dan O'Neill

GEORGE JACKSON, one of the Soledad Three, bears the brunt of the racist prosecution, with a brave smile.

By RONALD STEVENSON

SAN JOSE — On January 13, 1970, a lone guard, O. G. Miller, was stationed in a gun-tower overlooking the newly designed recreation yard at Soledad prison. He was equipped with the means for maintaining order; an alarm whistle, tear gas and a rifle with which he could fire warning shots. His eyes darted from one to another of the racially mixed groups of prisoners as they filed into the exercise area.

These men had previously exercised alone or in racially segregated groups and all had spent months in the most inhuman type of confinement.

The Soledad prison authorities have been vague about what happened next. It is known that the guard fired four shots killing three black prisoners and permanently injuring one white. Much is yet to be discovered; how many prisoners were in the yard, whether the guard called a warning or fired a warning shot. The men in the yard at the time were from "O" wing.

'Y' GUARD KILLED

A few days later in "Y" wing prison guard John V. Mills was found dead by another guard. It was reported that he had been beaten to death. The wings have separate recreation facilities. Yet, the prison officials linked the two events. They called in 1970, Fleeta Drumgo, 24, sched- the press and stated the killing was an act of retaliation. This undoubtedly prejudiced the case for the defendants by establishing an inflammatory motive.

George W. Cluchette, 23, scheduled for parole April 28, uled to appear before the parole board this year with an excellent chance of receiving a parole date and George L. Jackson, 28, who has served 10 years of a "one to life" sentence were "chosen" to pay the penalty.

OUT TO GET JACKSON

Jackson had been at the mercy of the California Adult Authority (the prison parole board) since the time he was sentenced for second degree robbery. The indeterminate sentence (one to life) made it impossible for Jackson to know when he would be released. The parole board is not required to give any reason for keeping Jackson for so long nor their reasons for not "determining" his sentence.

Two young women who have been working on the defense of the Soledad brothers' case shed some light on these questions.

The first said, "Jackson has been reading political literature for some time. He also tried a sit-in to integrate the T.V. room."

The second said, "He moved from the back rows at the movies to the middle section where the Chicanos sit."

It is known also that the prison officials considered Jackson a "troublemaker" and that he had been "written up" before.

In Jackson's case the gas chamber is mandatory even if acquitted of the murder charge but of having participated in the assault. Penal code 4500 has established the death penalty for any prisoner serving a life sentence who strikes an officer and draws blood. All three face certain death if convicted.

A hastily called Salinas grand jury met in secret, and indicted Cluchette, Drumgo and Jackson for the murder of the prison guard.

The guard who shot and killed the three black prisoners and wounded the one white, was exonerated for justifiable homicide. That testimony was filed in the Superior Court of California, Monterey County.

On Feb. 24, the arraignment with Judge Gorden Campbell presiding, took place. The defendants did not plead to the charges of assault and murder. The pleading was then scheduled for March 17. On that date a pretrial hearing was held.

JUDGE'S RACISM

Judge Campbell opened his court with the remarks that he expected the spectators (supporters of the brothers) "to conduct themselves properly and not sit as if they were in a pool hall or at a barbecue table."

The defendants were brought to court chained hands to waist and under the crotch, with shackles on their legs. The lawyers argued the chains and shackles violated the presumption of innocence until proven guilty, that the sight would prejudice any potential juror, and that nothing in the history of each of the defendants merited such restraints.

The motion to remove the chains was denied. Motions to be permitted to interview inmates of wing "Y" where the defendants celled, to be allowed in the prison to take pictures of the death site and a motion to have transcripts prepared at public expense, were denied.

Although witnesses' testimony before the grand jury was made public, the judge ruled that neither defendant nor lawyer could release information or opinion to the mass media concerning the trial or any issue likely to be involved in the trial. The motion to remove the rule was denied and the judge ordered that any subsequent motion on the matter must be sealed, and not for public record.

BARS TO DEFENSE

Prison authorities and other representatives of the state have been acting in collusion against the defense. Key witnesses have been transferred to other institutions, the death site has been remodeled and the personal records of the defendants have been kept from their attorneys. In addition the grand jury was picked from families who have made fortunes raising lettuce and strawberries, with the exception of two, who as Judge Campbell put it, are of "nigra ancestry."

Judge Campbell up to this time has repeatedly complained about the length and number of motions submitted. He has displayed weariness, boredom and bias with the proceedings. He has rustled papers, pulled at the corners of his mouth with his fingers and averted his face from the defense and been visibly annoyed with the number of supporters of the Soledad brothers.

But, according to those who attended earlier, less well attended proceedings he is displaying more courtroom decorum than in the beginning, thanks to the people who are demanding justice for the defendants.

CORRECTIVE LEGISLATION

The defense has been permitted to interview some 130 inmates in preparation for the trial, set for June 22. The judge would grant no more time.

California Assemblyman Willie Brown (Dem.-S.F.) and Senator Mervyn Dymally, (D.-L.A.) are fighting for legislation to help correct the injustices of the California Adult Authority.

Fay Stender, attorney for Jackson, will file, in federal court, San Francisco, May 8, asking for all materials relative to the case.

Early in May, supporters of the brothers hope to open a community house in Salinas from which defense actions can take place.

On May 3, a prisoners family picnic will be held at Bobby Hutton Memorial Park, 18th and Adeline streets in Oakland. Plans for unions of prisoners families will be discussed.

An urgent call is being made to help defend your rights by defending the rights of those of the Soledad brothers. This can only be done by promoting community awareness, organizing committees and raising funds.

A personal appeal from the writer

'The dynamics of black folks'

SAN FRANCISCO

It is because of the *DETERMINATION* and *STRENGTH* of black people like the Soledad brothers that repression seeks to destroy the human right of all people.

To dare, to struggle against the rotten racist rulers of our society . . . to read, to think, to question, to stand up straight, to demand dignity, to change, to speak and to smile gives an example to others who feel the oppression, to do the same.

This is a "dangerous" doctrine for it lays bare the sordid basis for the propaganda designed to gain widespread acceptance of the genocide being committed on black people across this country.

The fascist forces of "law and order" commit the executions and use the executions of brothers like Fred Hampton, Bobby Hutton and Alprentice "Bunchy" Carter as a warning to all. They now seek to complete their premeditated murder of Bobby Seale in Connecticut . . . and the Soledad brothers in California.

One of the organizers who has been putting in 18 hours a day in the defense of the Soledad brothers, said this week:

"The urgency of the defense lies in the fact that Judge Campbell has refused to allow any more time for the preparation of the legal work necessary. Why are the authorities rushing these men to their deaths?"

As far as Jackson is concerned he was rushed to prison ten years ago, with a sentence of "one to life" for driving the get away car in a robbery.

This genocidal oversentencing of black people has a long history.

How can these black men smile in the face of what appears certain death? They smile because they know that their strength is helping people to understand, a little better, the political system in which they live.

They dare to struggle because they believe masses of people will be moved to struggles which would weaken and destroy the vested interests of those who gain wealth and power from the misery of white, black, brown, red — all poor people.

These things are part of their hopes and aspirations, part of the nature and dynamics of black folks.

"I gain strength from George Johnson whenever he has walked into the courtroom. I need this strength," a young woman told me.

I believe this. I believe Johnson knows this. But I don't believe he was smiling as he read one of the few letters he is allowed to receive.

For the umpteenth time he picks up the letter. He holds it to his nostrils inhaling the fragrance, then fixes himself onto the picture in his mind of the writer. He sits down to answer. He writes:

"I am in such a hurry. My life is so disrupted, so precarious, my inclinations so oriented to struggle that anyone who would love me would have to be bold indeed — or out of their head."

For information on what you can do, write:

Don Wheeldin, P.O. Box 3206, Pasadena, Calif. 91103, 798-0412;

Susan Castro, P.O. Box 31306, San Francisco, Calif., 285-2360, 751-9319;

Franklin and Kendra Alaxander, 288 C. 50th street, Los Angeles, Calif. 90011, 234-0946

Wally Goldfrank, 301 California street, Santa Cruz, Calif. 95060, 423-5136.

Contributions go to:

The Soledad Brothers Defense Fund, % John Thorne, 510 North Third street, San Jose, Calif. 95112.

—R. S.

Lenin & struggle in India & Pakistan

(Continued from Page 7)

At that time, the British government thought terrorism was more dangerous than communism. We were allowed to acquire Marxist-Leninist literature.

Our camp fairly became a university of Marxism. Young and old began studying Marx and Lenin. Almost 90% of us came out of prison firm believers in Marxism.

In 1937 I went to visit my mother in our native village, where my family owned some land. Learning about my arrival, the peasants crowded round our house, asking for help against the feudal system of rent in kind. I told them I was a trade unionist and had to return to Calcutta.

But the peasants were insistent. I asked myself then whether I really had to return to Calcutta or was merely making excuses, because the peasants' demands would ruin my family.

It was easier by far to fight British and Indian capital than to take a decision against one's private interests.

No one could advise me and I turned for help to Lenin. What would he have done in my place?

Lenin would not think of himself and would surely come to the aid of the poor peasants.

I banished my doubts and took the side of the peasants. We formed a strong peasant organization and after a few years of our arduous efforts the feudal system was repealed. In reprisal, my modest little house was razed to the ground by the government. But I was proud of the fact that I had stood the test and had acted in the way that I think Lenin would have acted.

In 1938 we founded a district party committee in Maimansingh. Lenin's "What Is To Be Done?" was a great help to us. Lenin gave us guidance in forming a revolutionary party of the new type and equipped us with a revolutionary doctrine that could rouse the people.

Acting on Lenin's advice, the comrades in our district began working among the peasants.

A strong organization was built up and we won some victories. When we followed Lenin's instructions we were never wrong but whenever we deviated from Lenin's course we then found ourselves either on the "right" or the "left."

Lenin taught us that economic struggle should be closely linked with the political. In 1946 we launched a peasant movement against share cropping.

The movement combined economic and political issues. A powerful wave of peasant unrest rolled across Bengal. The government countered with reprisals, drowning the courageous mass struggle in a sea of blood.

But the years of struggle against imperialism and feudalism by different classes at different times, had undermined the roots of British imperialism.

In August, 1947, two independent states, India and Pakistan, arose on the ruins of India.

In 1948 I was again compelled to go underground. When I had to go underground for the first time in 1942. I hid, for a small charge, in the home of a petty-bourgeois, but when the reward for my capture was increased, he betrayed me.

This time I decided to hide in the home of some worker. Lenin, too, often took shelter in workers' homes. But there being no real industry in our district and, moreover, because I had to work among the peasants, we decided that I should hide in the home of a landless farm laborer, whose honesty and courage we all knew.

Lenin is not among us any more. But he lives on in our hearts and inspires our struggle by his great works.

He never thought of himself, always working for the good of the people. His supreme principle was that of revolutionary humanism.

'To help the people wrest control from those whose system and policies will destroy it. . .'

(Continued from Page 7)

and I was responsible for making a study of democracy in the United States as part of our overall preparations for the legal and mass campaign policy and tactics.

In this study, Lenin's ideas were invaluable. In his article "Against the Boycott," he wrote: "A high appreciation of revolutionary periods in the development of humanity is something that follows logically from the sum total of Marx's views on history . . . It is in such periods that the direct role of various classes in the determination of the forms of social life manifests itself with the greatest force."

Lenin pointed out that within every nation there are two cultures — progressive and reactionary: "There are two nations in every modern state . . ." he wrote in 1913.

His letter to the workers in the United States, written in 1918 opens with: "The history of modern, civilized America opened with one of those great, really liberating, really revolutionary wars of which there has been so few."

Later he said: "The American people have a revolutionary tradition which has been adopted by the best representatives of the American proletariat, who have repeatedly expressed their complete solidarity with us Bolsheviks. That tradition is the war of liberation against the British in the Eighteenth century and the Civil War in the Nineteenth Century."

It is very difficult during periods of savage suppression for a revolutionary vanguard organization to maintain a correct understanding of developments and to make correct decisions and arrive at correct tactics.

Our studies and thinking in the California trial brought us to somewhat different conclusions than we previously held. We proceeded on the basis that the revolutionary and democratic gains won by the working class, black people and the revolutionists since the founding of our nation have established deep going beliefs, traditions, and customs which are not so easily overcome by a reactionary ruling class.

We therefore based our trial tactics and our mass campaign on the policy of fighting for our right to advocate the ideas of the Communist party. This shift in policy drew heavily on the guidelines set forth by Lenin, and led to blunting the reactionary drive when we made advances both in the mass campaign as well as on the legal front. The Smith Act has not been useful as a law of repression since that time.

There is taking place in our country a process of mass radicalization which leads to the path of revolution. There is growing militancy on the part of the working class, but it is more than militancy.

It overcomes the effects of a war atmosphere and of the splitting effects of racism. It is political and ideological.

The ruling class has assigned large numbers of people with huge sums of money to divert this movement.

This diversionary force downgrades the working class and from both the right and the left it tries to prevent unity of the workers and other sectors of the movement.

This diversionary efffort has led to the most virulent attack against the Communist party and the Soviet Union from the left ever experienced in this country. It creates new difficulties for the revolutionary movement in the U. S., but it does not change the course of history.

In his letter to the workers in this country he refers to the Soviet Union as a "beseiged fortress," waiting for the other detachments of the world socialist revolution to come to her aid.

He pointed out that even if the Soviets committed 10,000 mistakes for every 100 correct actions, even in that case their revolution would be invincible.

He stated: "We are free from imperialist dependence, we have raised the banner of struggle for the complete overthrow of imperialism for the whole world to see."

We live today in the most powerful center of world imperialism. Our tasks are very great. Our country is being brought to moral, economic and social ruin by an oppressive and aggressive system of exploitation.

Much having to do with the fate of mankind rests on the ability of the revolutionary movement in the U. S. to help the people wrest control of the country from those whose system and policies will destroy it.

The conditions are maturing which will bring the working class into the leadership of that effort.

Lenin wrote at length and provided guidelines for what is essential if the workers are to give leadership to the people's movement.

For the workers to give leadership in this period, it is essential that mass political consciousness be developed. Lenin wrote: "Class political consequences can be brought to the workers only from without, that is, only from outside of the economic struggle, from outside of the sphere of relations between workers and employers. The sphere from which alone it is possible to obtain this knowledge is the sphere of relations between all classes and strata and the state and government, the sphere of inter-relations between all the classes." That is the challenge before us today.

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• WHAT'S ON

LOS ANGELES

DOROTHY HEALEY Telephone Program, 11:00 every Monday night. Radio Station KPFK.

BOOKS BOOKS, BOOKS — Any books you can spare to help stock the Book Fair at the People's World Picnic on May 31st (noon to 6), 2143 Duxbury Circle (near Pico and Beverly Dr.) L. A.

AN ITALIAN NIGHT honoring some Italian progressive septuagenarians and Bartolomeo Bertone, Italian lasagna dinner. Lee Wintner, barione, in Italian songs and opera. Sat., May 9 — 6 p.m., Hungarian Hall, 1251 S. St. Andrews Pl. Don.: $2.00. Ausp.: Italian-American Cultural Society.

THE SOUTHERN California Comm. for The People's World invites you to join the celebration of Marion and Max Miller's 140 years of life dedicated to peace, freedom and socialism. Have dinner and enjoy a fine cultural program. Sat., May 23, 1970—5:00 p.m. to 8:00 p.m. at 827 N. Edgemont, L.A. Don. $1.50.

SAN FRANCISCO

GOING TO THE USSR? We can help you plan a great trip. We will open doors for you this Lenin Centennial Celebration year to beautiful happenings—at lowest cost. Meet and talk to Soviet friends eager to welcome you to the first land of socialism. Our 38 years of inter-cultural relations with our Soviet friends at your service. No charge, of course. American Russian Institute. Holland Roberts, president; Sally Cooper, secretary. 90 McAllister, San Francisco UN 1-3813.

BAY AREA

LENIN Centennial Festival, Sunday, May 3, 1970, 12—5 p.m., Padre Area, Tilden Park (East Bay). The Agit Prop, music. Barbecue dinner, books, Lenin posters for sale, puppet show, sing-out with Jon Fromer. Donation: $2.00.

• WANT ADS

CEMETERY LOT for sale, Walnut Creek. For information call The People's World business manager.

LOS ANGELES

I am happy that my wife
EDDIE
came home from the hospital.
I want the People's World to share with me my joy.
William Rosen

RAMONA

In memory of
Paul and Sophie Pierce
who will always be remembered for their loyalty to the working class.
Charlie and Raye

LOS ANGELES

Congratulations to BEN DOBBS on his recovery.
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LOS ANGELES

With sorrow and honor
we memorize
BLUMA KUGLER
Died April 30, 1967
Sam Kugler, Children and Grandchildren

SAN FRANCISCO

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ELSINORE

I mourn the loss of my dear and beloved friend
ANNA FLOM
Who was a lifelong staunch fighter for a world of Peace and Brotherhood.
FRIEDA KING

LOS ANGELES

We thank all our loyal friends for making our benefit concert for The People's World a financial success. A special thanks to Abraham Shavis who contributed $100 in memory of his beloved wife, Gussie (Gittel), who was our dear friend and co-worker in building a better world
NEEDLE TRADES COMMITTEE

COMMENT

Woodstock: beauty amid money vibes

WOODSTOCK. Directed by Michael Wadleigh, produced by Robert Maurice. (At the New Baronet in S.F.)

AS A documentary of the mammoth music festival held last August near Bethel, New York, "Woodstock" has much to recommend it. The photography, color, editing and sound track in this three hour and 15 minute film are technically excellent, with a very effective use of double and triple split screen techniques.

The performances are good, and some of them are positively inspired, such as the number "Higher" by Sly and the Family Stone, Joe Cocker's "With a Little Help from My Friends," and selections from their rock oratorio "Tommy," by The Who. The filmmakers also did a fair job of documenting the three days of confusion, breakdowns, coping with and copping out, bad scenes, groovy scenes and group dynamics that developed when a festival planned for 50,000 spectators swelled beyound capacity (and belief!) to 400,000.

The film went into the widespread use of dope among the crowd, mostly LSD, mescaline, hashish and marijuana.

IF IT WERE possible to restrict this review to the technical and entertainment aspects of "Woodstock," it could be wrapped up at this point with "real nice, go see it."

The trouble is, a lot of people regard Woodstock, the event, as more than just a grand weekend party. A prevalent opinion among some of the most influential taste-makers and "leaders" of the "youth movement" sees Woodstock as a social phenomenon that transcended its entertainment. This notion has been reinforced by Life magazine and other influential, if not exactly youthful, organs of the establishment.

Abbie Hoffman, one of the Chicago Eight Conspiracy defendants, when asked his address by the court, answered "Woodstock Nation," which he explained is a "state of mind." Pop music reviewer Ellen Sander wrote, Woodstock "became a microcosm of a once and future dream, a metaphor for a movement, a statement on all the changes we feel. It was an eruption of energy so positive and logistically monumental that come what may, it stands as the best example of just how together we can be. Everyone."

"Woodstock" the movie cannot be separated from Woodstock, the myth, although, to its credit, it does show Woodstock, the reality.

The basis of the Woodstock transcendentalism is the belief that this event demonstrated the feasibility of the younger generation simply turning its back on war, racism, profiteering, and other inhumane activities, and by the power of its own being, to change the world.

PARTICIPANTS at Woodstock, and those who felt it vicariously through the reportage on the affair, saw 400,000 people enduring a rain-filled, traffic-jammed mob scene with no supervision or police forces. They saw people of many social strata; it's time to challenge the pat notion that rock music and drugs are the exclusive province of the bored middle class. They saw by no means only caucasians, although black representation was somewhat smaller than their total percentage of population.

That this could be the shape of things to come was an appealing thought to a lot of young people, frustrated with the infuriatingly meager results of demonstrating against the war and racism, and getting nowhere by trying to organize politically within the present socio-economic structure.

The analogy seems tenuous at first glance. A weekend event is not an ongoing society. Farmer Max Yasgur's field, rented for the occasion, is not a city. The work of organizing and building for a rock music festival, however cooperative, doesn't begin to approach the problems of production in a technological society, or even, for that matter, in a primitive one.

At second glance, the premise seems even more shaky. Many of the musicians who were zonked out of their skulls at the beautiful vibes before them are now suing the Woodstock promoters for their unpaid fees. The groovy movie "Woodstock" carries with it a price tag of $4.

WARNER BROTHERS, distributors of the film, placed an ad in Variety, trade paper of show business, headlined "Woodstock is Beautiful," followed by the first week grosses in seven cities ($65,000 in New York, to $25,000 in Dallas), summed up by "How beautiful can you get?" Just the capitalists, grooving on their thing.

But even if others are exploiting the "together" scene, that is not in itself a putdown of the "movement." Even the name of Karl Marx is used by some of the most disgusting elements of the bourgeoisie, a fact noted by Lenin in his own time.

If a nation was born at Woodstock, it was invaded and conquered at Altamont. A free rock concert, only a few months after Woodstock, was sponsored by The Rolling Stones, at Altamont, California. There, almost 3[illegible]0,000 persons were literally taken over and terrorized by a gang of Hell's Angels, less than 50 in number.

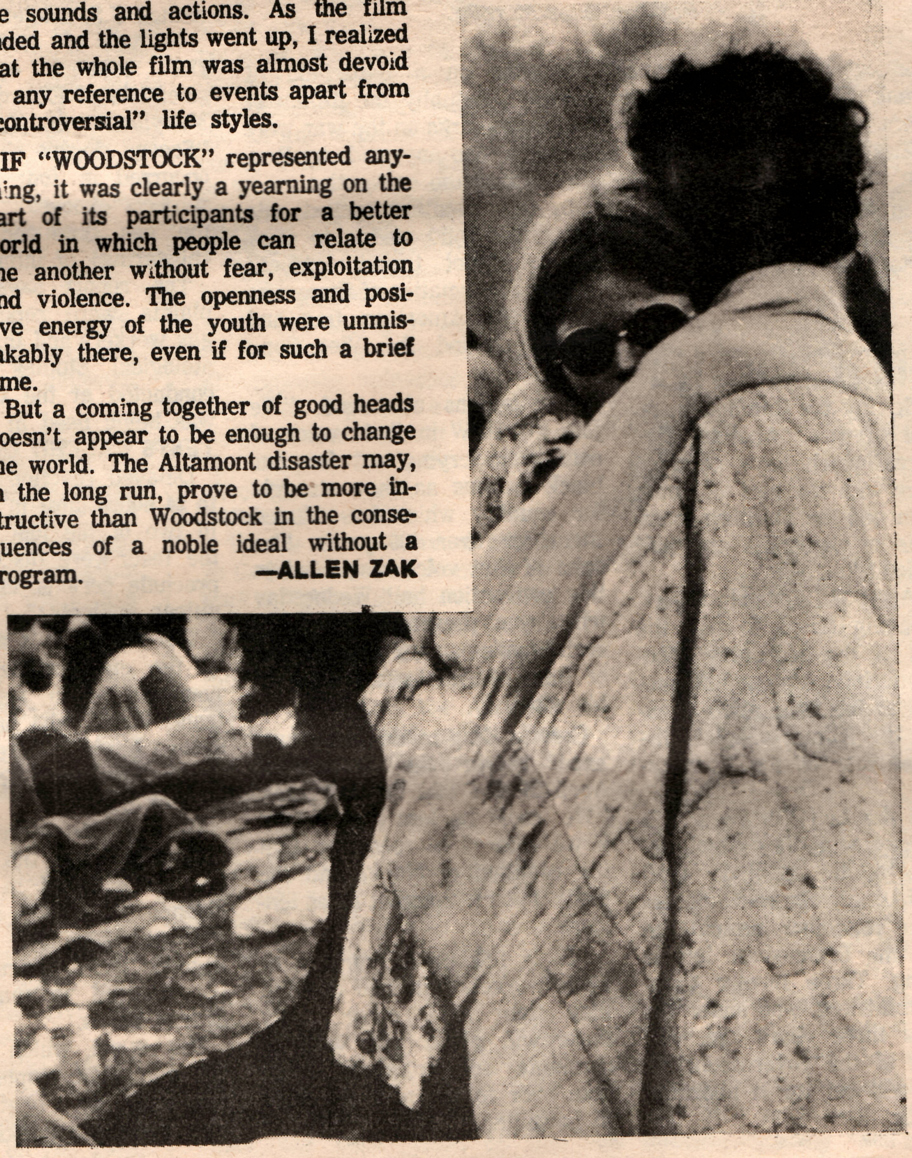
The gigantic crowd of allegedly "together" people stood by in bovine docility while a handful of drunken sadistic thugs beat hundreds of people indiscriminately, knifing a black youth to death.

All this was history by the time "Woodstock" opened, and couldn't help intruding into my thoughts as I dug the sounds and actions. As the film ended and the lights went up, I realized that the whole film was almost devoid of any reference to events apart from "controversial" life styles.

IF "WOODSTOCK" represented anything, it was clearly a yearning on the part of its participants for a better world in which people can relate to one another without fear, exploitation and violence. The openness and positive energy of the youth were unmistakably there, even if for such a brief time.

But a coming together of good heads doesn't appear to be enough to change the world. The Altamont disaster may, in the long run, prove to be more instructive than Woodstock in the consequences of a noble ideal without a program.

—ALLEN ZAK



PART OF THE WOODSTOCK 400,000

GROUP OF REVOLUTIONARIES MARCH IN 'MILKY WAY'

FILM

A sharp new satire on Church hypocrisy

THE MILKY WAY. Directed by Luis Bunuel. Produced by Serge Silberman. Screenplay by Bunuel and Jean-Claude Carriere. (In San Francisco at the Surf.)

ONE OF LIFE'S ironies is that it is often hard to satirize dogma without becoming somewhat dogmatic yourself.

Luis Bunuel's new film, "The Milky Way," is a happy exception to this rule. The dogma that is the target of his satire is Bunuel's usual target — the hypocrisy of the organized Roman Catholic Church.

And although Bunuel is almost always a master of conveying his perception of the absurd, the surreal, in organized religion, "The Milky Way" is more explicitly and successfully humorous, less a reflection of despair, than most of Bunuel's anti-clerical films.

FRAMEWORK FOR what is essentially a picaresque religious debate is the pilgrimage of two tramps, hitchhikers, to the shrine of St. James in Santiago, Spain.

The two men — one old and a believer, the other young and drawn so as to resemble an atheist, a student revolutionary — journey through the French and Spanish countryside, and through time.

Everyone they meet who is contemporary seems to be debating the fine points of religious dogma and scripture, and persons they come across from the past are enacting historic Church battles over heresy. Both sets of people take for granted their obsession with theological details, and indeed, Bunuel makes it seem as if people seldom talk about anything else.

Also taken for granted is the introduction of characters from the past. And there is no surprise when the two hitchhikers meet a band resembling Jesus Christ and his disciples; a Jesuit and a traditional Catholic in garb of days gone by who ask the two to act as seconds in their duel; a man in archaic religious dress guarding the door behind which a nun is being nailed to a cross for being "the last of the Jansenists — convulsionists, fanatics."

THE HYPOCRISY of the believers is shown a number of times on the journey. The two come upon a posh restaurant, in which the headwaiter has been discussing the dual nature of Christ with his workers and his guests. Yet when they come to ask for leftovers, the pious headwaiter chases them away.

The two are finally given a bit of food by the audience of a school presentation who are picnicking on the grass. "There's violence everywhere these days," the headmistress says, "but thanks be to God, our classes have been undisturbed."

Bunuel interrupts his portrayal of religious recitations (a mindblowing scene of young children reading a list of seemingly irrelevant heresies and then saying piously, "Anathema on them") with scenes of young French revolutionaries marching and eventually shooting a Pope.

AT THE end of "The Milky Way" Bunuel speaks through his Christ figure, who tells his disciples that all these rumors he had come as a messenger of peace are nonsense. He had come "to set man against man, father against son, daughter against mother . . ."

Which, I suppose, sounds like a nice summing up. But after seeing the film, nobody's really going to think Jesus is totally responsible. There are plenty of other people to blame.

—JUDY BASTON

Communists aid Seale support action

NEW YORK

As the most reactionary forces of the United States pursue their policy of wars of agression against countries fighting for their national liberation, so too does the U.S. government, representing imperialism, pursue its war of repression, racism and legalized murder against the black community.

May Day — the day recognized by workers, radicals and revolutionaries throughout the world is the day that represents class solidarity, class struggle and class victory.

It is significant then that on this May Day a rally is taking place in New Haven, Conn., to free Bobby Seale, chairman of the Black Panther party, and eight other Panther defendants framed and jailed, some facing the electric chair, on the charge of murder.

We Communists recognize that the attempt to step up the drive towards fascism in the U. S. necessitates the broadest development of mass campaigns, demonstrations and protests and we will participate enthusiastically in the three days of protest rallies in New Haven. We urge all our members and supporters to join in these activities.

For those who will be unable to go to New Haven we strongly suggest that the case of the New Haven 9, the New York Panther 21 and all other cases of racist repression be high on the agendas of all gatherings whether in parades, street corner meetings, churches, unions or meeting halls.

Since May Day is the living symbol of international solidarity of workers throughout the world, black, white, brown red and Asian, the workers of the U.S. where May Day was born, should manifest in every form their association with the struggles of black people.

The dominant labor leadership has shown severe fault in not taking up these crimes and frame-ups against the black community.

Not only is it inconceivable but impossible to defeat the drive of U.S. imperialism at home and abroad without the consistent struggle to defeat the racist onslaught against blacks, especially black radicals. The most open show of that onslaught is against the leaders and members of the BPP.

The Communist party bluntly states that the workers in our country, black and white, the peace movement and all who stand to lose by the advance towards fascism must raise the issue of repression against the BPP, the issue of repression in general, and the issue of racism.

These forces must put their organizations on record, they must protest and demonstrate, Bobby Seale and all victims of racist and political repression must be set free.

Communist Party, U.S.A.
Commission on Black Liberation

UAW contract demands set

(Continued from Page 1)

seek to make overtime voluntary.

Although scant attention was paid in the program to some of the more pressing on-the-job issues, especially poor conditions and speedup, UAW President Walter Reuther indicated "pollution" will be a major point in the negotiations.

Also not dealt with to any appreciable extent by the convention were issues inside the plants involving discrimination, particularly involving black workers.

The union neither negotiates nor strikes on an industrywide basis. Each year the leadership picks out one company which will serve as the target. GM with 450,000 union employees has never been the target. It is the largest of the three.

The suggestion of hitting GM came when a delegate suggested doing so and Reuther answered "We just might do that."

The auto contract with GM expires Sept. 14 and there are reports the company is moving to set back the date for the introduction of 1971 model cars from the Sept. 17 scheduled target to around Sept. 30. This would make it easier for the company to hike prices on new cars and place the responsibility for doing so on the union demands.

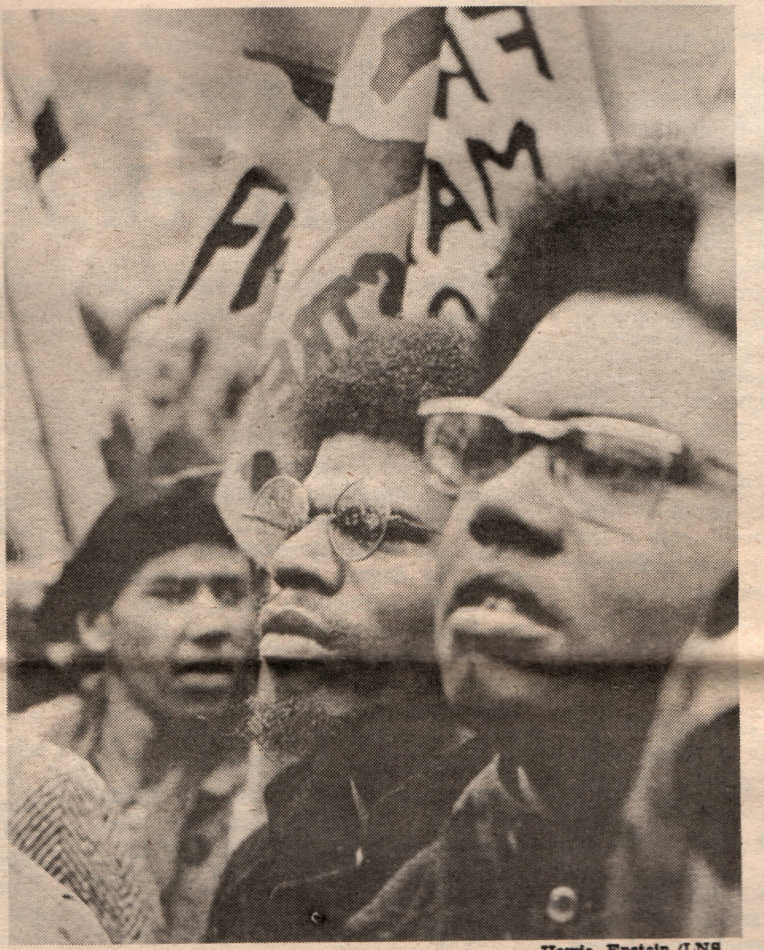
One of the highpoints of the convention was the appearance of Frank Fitzsimmons, acting president of the Teamsters Union. Fitzsimmons told the convention as partners with the UAW in the Alliance for Labor Action, his union was also opposed to "the killing of American sons on a battlefield of shame." Actually the Teamster head's remarks on the war were stronger than any made by Reuther during the convention.

In fact, Reuther tacked onto his rather mild pledge to work to end "that tragic conflict" with a denunciation of those who "burn the American flag and march behind the Viet Cong flag."

Fitzsimmons also said, "We join the UAW in their voice of conscience crying out for our black citizens as they struggle for equality which has eluded them for over 100 years. The echo of that voice resounded in this convention hall Wednesday when you presented the UAW social justice award in the name of Rev. Martin Luther King to his widow."

Coretta King made an appearance before the convention April 23. She told the delegates, "We would be less than candid if we refused to recognize that the coalition of blacks and the trade union movement faces tensions.

"It is not black workers or white workers who will profit if they fight each other. Only those will profit who wish to dominate all workers. More than ever in the past we need to be united."



Howie Epstein/LNS

N. Y. Panther support rally.

More on Cambodia

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whose fighting forces are the core of the rapidly growing National Liberation Army.

Speaking of the Cambodian Communists, Burchett said, "The old resistance bases which the French were never able to liquidate in Cambodia have remained intact since going underground in 1954. So has the old political and military infrastructure, including its key cadre. So too has the traditional solidarity between Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos and their resistance movements.

"It is for this reason that vast areas of Cambodia have already been converted into liberated zones, controlled by the National United Front. Even Lon Nol has had to recognize that the key provinces of Ratamikiri, Mondulkiri and Svay Rieng, which adjoin South Vietnam and Laos are 'almost entirely' controlled by the Cambodian resistance forces. Another five provinces which have common frontiers with the rest of South Vietnam and the southern coastal areas of Cambodia are 'half controlled.' "

The April 22 Le Monde reported, "having failed to win the support of the peasantry, General Lon Nol's regime has succumbed to the temptation of exploiting the Khmer people's distrust and fear of the Vietnamese."

While the Lon Nol regime is in disarray, with its control, according to the April 27 Wall Street Journal, not reaching beyond the roadblock around the capital, the Cambodian left is re-uniting. Three former Cambodian ministers, who joined the guerillas three years ago, will be part of the government Sihanouk will set up in liberated **Cambodia.**

British unemployment highest since 1940

Special to The People's World

LONDON — General economic recession, highlighted by steeply rising unemployment rate, exists not only in the United States but has become a factor in much of the capitalist world.

Britain is being particularly hard hit.

On April 23, the government announced 620,092 people were wholly unemployed in the country. This is the highest jobless rate since 1940.

Although this was a decrease of 14,546 on the March total, the fall was mainly caused by seasonal factors and does not affect the general trend toward high unemployment.

If school-leavers and the temporarily unemployed are included, the total rises to 652,420, a drop of 7,776 on March.

Trades Union Congress general secretary Mr. Vic Feather called for the Government to make as big an effort to solve the unemployment problem as they had to solve the balance of payments problem.

DEPRESSINGLY HIGH

The figure is "depressingly high," he said. There must be a lurking fear now that hard core unemployment is becoming more difficult to erode.

"The Chancellor has enough elbow room to get some growth into the economy."

Next month's unemployment figures are certain to be lower, but an average seasonal decrease would still leave Britain with one of its worst May totals since the war.

The figures have not yet been broken down industry by industry but the continuing crisis in the building industry appears to be still playing a major role.

Northern Ireland remains the worst-hit area, with 7 per cent out of work, compared with 2.4 per cent for the rest of the United Kingdom.

CS gas—dangerous

Special to The People's World

LONDON — It's being used in Ireland, Vietnam, Berkeley and a lot of other places and evidence has been uncovered here indicating CS gas is far more dangerous than the victims are being told.

Last week here details were given out of what is described as a secret U.S. Army report saying CS gas causes first and second degree burns.

On April 24, members of the Irish National Liberation Solidarity Front showed the 30 page report to newsmen which described "effects of thermally generated CS aerosols on human skin." They said the report was obtained from an unnamed U.S. soldier.

It tells of tests on eight U.S. soldiers conducted by scientists at Edgewood Arsenal, Maryland, in January 1967. "Second degree chemical burns occurred in four of the eight subjects exposed," it said, and the gas produced "vesication (blistering) of human skin."

The report says skin complaints were reported by CS gas workers and that "no dermatological studies" had been conducted at the time the gas was being used in Vietnam.

TESTS CALLED OFF

Delayed reaction appeared 12 to 24 hours later in all the cases in two of the test groups, and the tests were discontinued "to preclude serious injury to volunteer subjects."

The report says at least four of the eight soldiers went to hospitals as a result of the tests. Three, who had the most severe burns, "were treated to avoid secondary infection, scarring or both."

Used in the streets in large quantities, says the report, CS gas would result in a high incidence of injuries and illness. Without adequate treatment, several local infections would be expected in many second-degree burns.

The report, which is illustrated with photographs of charred limbs, says heat and moisture accentuated skin burns.

MDM office shot up

OCEANSIDE — Unknown attackers shot up the headquarters of the Movement for a Democratic Military, a Marine antiwar group late Tuesday evening, April 29, wounding a young PFC, Jessie Woodward.

Woodward is recovering at the Naval Hospital at Camp Pendleton. No further details were available at presstime.